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**MEMOIRS**

**OF,**

**COUNT LAVALLETTE.**

**WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.**

**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. I.**

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH



### COUNT LAVALLETTE.\*

A FEW days before the 10th of August, King Louis XVI. ■■■ reviewing the National Guards of Paris, assembled on the Rue du Carrousel; the monarch walked from the right of the front of the line, with a slow and measured step, distributing encouragements ■■■ praises, when from the opposite end of the line, a young soldier rushed forward into the rank facing the King, and cried with enthusiasm, "Long live the King! Long live Louis XVI.! We are all for the King until death!" Louis XVI. stopped surprised, thanked the young man by

\* This was published a few days after the decease ■■■ Count Lavallette, in ■■■ "Revue ■■■ Paris," Vol. XII. No. 1. 7th March, 1830.

■ sign with ■■■ hand, ■■■ his name—it ■■■ Lavallette.

Soon after, the events of the 10th of August gave him impatient courage ■■ opportunity of showing itself. Lavallette got the command of a post at the Tuileries. He ■■■ it for ■ long while against the fury of the rebels, who seemed ■ multiply under the fire of the palace. But he ■■■ ■■■ forced to yield. When the ■■■ ■■■ that Louis XVI. had retired to the Assembly, the massacre began. Lavallette, covered with dust and blood, ■■■ dragged away by some friends, and thus by ■ miracle escaped a glorious death; but his fate ■■■ to ■■■ there.

Five years later, on the 19th Fructidor, ■ young officer in ■ brilliant uniform, wearing round his arm the tricoloured sash, quickly jumped into ■ cabriolet near the gate of the *Petit Luxembourg*; one of ■■ former school-fellows, passing by, recognised him, and after the usual congratulations, said :—

“ Where ■■■ you going?”

“ I intend to return ■■ Italy ■■ quickly ■■ possible.”

“ Why in such a hurry?”

“ Barras threatens ■■ have me shot within four-and-twenty hours.”

"Then I advise you to get away, for he's in the humour to do it."

"Who knows that better than I? I wanted to make some opposition to the barbarous follies of last night, and they send me away this morning; but my conscience is clear, and Bonaparte protects me. Adieu, I go; if it please Heaven, we shall see each other again."

The very evening after that conversation Lavallette left Paris.

We shall leave him galloping on the road to Italy, and going some years back, we will follow his steps from the 1st of August to the 1st of Fructidor; from a Royalist volunteer to a captain in the Republican army.

There is no doubt but the Revolution of 1789 was wished for by the great majority of the French. Nevertheless the cruelties that marked its commencement disgusted all honest minds. Neither the plunderers of Reveillon's stores, the murderers of Foulon and Berthier, nor the brawling rebels of the 10th of June, represented the wishes and feelings of France, and the party of Louis XVI. sought to enlist all the patriots, irritated by such criminal acts.

When the public mind was thus disposed,

the foreign war broke out, preceded by insolent threats: it proved a powerful diversion to the difficulties in which the Republican party, members of the Legislative Assembly, were involved. They turned it to advantage in a skilful manner; and while the emigration of the nobles deprived the King of his natural support at home, those whom generous feeling rallied in his defence, flew to the frontiers, and triumphed in the victories of Valmy, Jemmappes, and Savoy, with Kellermann, Chartres, and Montesquiou; they heard no longer, in the rumour of camps and the intoxication of glory, the cries of royalty in distress.

It was then that the throne fell for want of support.

Lavallette followed, under the standard of the Republic, the crowd of young men who, like himself, without fortune, name, or expectation, did not wish to speculate either upon emigration or terror. From the armies which remained neutral between the two opposite extremes were destined at a future period to rise those new fortunes, those reputations so pure, so dear to France, among which Lavallette was to shine.\*

\* Lavallette was born in Paris in 1789, in the same year with his protector and friend the Emperor Napoleon.

His father, who was a respectable [redacted] Paris, [redacted] him [redacted] Harcourt college an education [redacted] [redacted] first sight appeared above his station in society. In consequence, when his parents began [redacted] think of his establishment, they found nothing better than to devote him to the church; for he had no [redacted] for entering into trade, and he had too much merit [redacted] [redacted] days in the idleness of a garrison. He, therefore, took holy orders, obtained the situation of under-librarian [redacted] St. Genevieve, and buried himself in books.

But the Revolution was [redacted] announced by symptoms that could not escape Lavallette. His ambition [redacted] roused at the thoughts of the events that [redacted] preparing.

One day [redacted] he was walking arm-in-arm with two friends in the Rue Mazarine, the [redacted] [redacted] happened to fall on futurity. That subject [redacted] a common one among young men.

"As for me," said Lavallette, "you think me very quiet, quite buried in my books; well, I can tell you that I wish to make my fortune. This Revolution encourages me."

"You, my friend! you will always be walking close to the houses [redacted] you do now, [redacted] fear of being run over."



"Leave that time; we can wait for nothing. I shall perhaps have the best part of the pavement in my turn, and then, my friends, I don't bespatter you. Will you see that in the highway they are opening for me I do not get any quicker than you?"

The bets were agreed to. The two companions followed honourably their several courses, but Lavallette advanced with giant's strides, and at thirty years of age he had won his wager.

The events of 1789 are known. Young Lavallette did not follow the church. A musket on his shoulder, he entered the National Guard which Lafayette was organizing for the defence of king and country. In 1792 he signed the Royalist petition of the ten thousand; but his conduct on the 10th of August appearing suspicious, he enlisted as a volunteer in the Legion of the Alps, and was one of the leaders of that army of peasants and citizens which formed the coalition on the banks of the Rhine, between their mercenary France. He served with great distinction during the whole campaign. At the same time named adjutant of engineers, he was chosen as aide-de-camp by General Baraguey d'Hilliers. He

when ~~that~~ General came to ~~Paris~~ to defend Coustines, whom ~~all his~~ exertions could not ~~save~~, he ~~was~~ persecuted himself, and deprived of his liberty until the 9th Thermidor, so ~~that~~ he could do nothing for Lavallette.

After the ~~10th~~ Thermidor, the Revolution, tired of proscription, stopped. The inviolability of ~~the~~ territory had been secured, and ~~the~~ principles of reform were beyond all danger: a second period was beginning, in ~~which~~ the Revolution wished to get her rights acknowledged. She was mistress of France, ~~and~~ her fate urged her on towards the conquest of Europe; with those old and obstinate monarchies she could only ~~use~~ sword in hand, and reply ~~in~~ sophistry by victories.

The Constitution of the Third Year opened this second and exclusively military period. ~~France~~ passed from the government ~~of~~ Terror ~~to~~ that of Glory: it was then that Bonaparte appeared.

At the sight of ~~the~~ hero of twenty-six, with ~~his~~ pale and melancholy countenance, ~~his~~ proud ~~and~~ ~~bold~~ deportment, ~~his~~ eagle glance, his short sentences, ~~his~~ rapid gestures which commanded obedience, ~~his~~ gravity, which, notwithstanding ~~his~~ youth, ~~made~~ him respected by ~~the~~

generals of the Republic,—at sight also of that firm and devoted army that was about to fight under his orders, of those young enthusiastic lieutenants who thronged around him, of that Italian soil which presented itself as a rich prey, it might, perhaps, not have been difficult to foretell, that the first act of this military drama, which began at Montenotte and terminated at Waterloo, would be the most poetical and most brilliant of all.

Lavallette was at first but coolly received among the staff-officers of the General-in-Chief, and was forced to conquer by the point of his sword the esteem of Bonaparte. It was on the field of battle at Arcola that he received from the General the title of aide-de-camp and the rank of Captain. Being wounded in his perilous mission to Tyrol, he was complimented by Bonaparte, who said to him in presence of the army, "Lavallette, you have behaved like a brave man. When I write the history of this campaign, I shall not forget you!" He kept his word. In the mean while, this young officer gained the friendship of his General by other qualities as well as personal valour: he possessed solid information, a scrutinising mind, <sup>activity</sup> prudence, and perfect good

breeding. This latter quality Bonaparte liked above all things, and he distinguished Lavallette.

A few months afterwards he chose him for a difficult mission. The General of the Italian army, surrounded by the glory, nevertheless watched with anxiety the movements and struggles of the parties which at that time agitated France. In the conflict of so many passions, he could with difficulty distinguish the truth. He therefore sent to Paris his aide-de-camp Lavallette, to learn, through his reports, the real state of affairs. A cipher, invented by Bourrienne, served for their correspondence.

Lavallette, young and unknown, cast thus in the midst of the dangers, intrigues, and seductions of political life, displayed nevertheless remarkable prudence and firmness. He frequented all the Societies of the period, but he connected himself with none. At the Luxembourg, at Carnot's, in Madame de Staël's drawing-room, in the circles of Augereau, everywhere his ingenuity discovered the real aim of each party, through the veil of vulgarity or dissimulation which covered them. He saw the Directory in all the ridiculous glory of its magnificence, and never could forget the French people.

formed by those tyrants, in whose government  
seemed to vie with cruelty. In 1793  
he wrote the following to one of his friends :—

“ I saw our five kings, dressed in the robes  
of Francis I., his hat, his pantaloons, and his  
lace : the face of La Reveillere like a  
cork upon two pins, with the hair of Clodion. M. de Talleyrand, in pan-  
taloons of the colour of wine dregs, sat in a  
folding chair at the feet of the Director Barras,  
in the Court of the Petit Luxembourg ; and  
gravely presented to the sovereigns an Ambas-  
sador from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, while  
the French were eating his master's dinner,  
from the soup to the cheese. At the right  
hand there were fifty musicians and singers of  
the Opera, Lainé, Lays, Regnault, and the  
actresses, now all dead of old age, roaring a  
patriotic hymn to the music of Méhul. Fac-  
ing them, on another elevation, there were  
two hundred young beautiful women, with  
their arms and bosoms bare, all in ecstasy  
at the majesty of our Pentarchy and the happi-  
ness of the Republic. They wore tight  
flesh-colour pantaloons, with rings on their  
fingers. This was a sight that never will be seen again.  
A fortnight after this magnificent fête, thou-

\* The author of the Sketch.

sands of ~~men~~ wept ~~in~~ their ~~families~~ fathers, forty-eight Departments were deprived of their representatives, and forty editors of newspapers ~~were~~ forced ~~to~~ ~~go~~ and drink the ~~waters~~ of the Elbe, the Synamary, or the Ohio! It would ~~be~~ a curious disquisition ~~to~~ to discover what really were ~~the~~ that ~~the~~ the Republic ~~and~~ Liberty."

Lavallette had no power to oppose such violent ~~acts~~. He entered, however, a ~~series~~ of protest ~~against~~ against them, by refusing to Barras the money Bonaparte ~~had~~ promised him out of the cash of the Army of Italy. ~~This~~ raised against him the fury of the Directory. ~~and~~ the brutal anger of Augereau. But, if he did not prevent the 18th Fructidor, he contributed, ~~at~~ least, to fix the General's opinion in regard to ~~the~~ *coup d'état*, struck by a power ~~at~~ once violent and weak, oppressive and despised, ~~and~~ who had not courage enough to ~~be~~ equitable. From that moment the Directory was condemned in the eyes of Bonaparte. He saw ~~that~~ no futurity existed for the ~~new~~ Constitution of ~~the~~ Year III., ~~and~~ from that day, even before the peace of Campo Formio was signed, ~~the~~ long-sighted genius formed ~~the~~ plan of ~~the~~ Egyptian campaign.

Having escaped from the hands of the Directory, Lavallette rejoined the General-in-Chief at the Castle of Passeriano. Bonaparte did not leave his zeal time to cool. A few days afterwards, Lavallette, with a round shield and sword in his hand, entered the walls of Genoa, which had insulted the French. The gates of the Senate-house were opened for him, and there, in the midst of the patricians, trembling all once with fear and rage, he, with a high hand and a loud voice, demanded satisfaction, and forced the Doge to abandon and disown all English influence.

After the peace of Campo Formio, Bonaparte crossed Switzerland on his way to Rastadt. Lavallette accompanied him in this triumphant journey, during which the people everywhere flocked to meet the young conqueror of Italy. The General did not remain long at Rastadt. Disgusted with the protracted delays of German diplomacy, he left the place, where Lavallette remained, entrusted with secret powers, and placed in the most difficult position between the mistrustful plenipotentiaries of the Directory, who detested him, and the ceremonious German Ministers, who were his enemies. The name and influence of Bonaparte.

He was ~~married~~ a few months ~~after~~. It was then ~~that~~ Bonaparte, not daring to solicit from ~~France~~ a reward for Lavallette, ~~married~~ him ~~to~~ a young lady of the ~~House~~ of Beanharnais, a niece of his wife, ~~and~~ whose ~~father~~ had emigrated. Thus his kindness prepared the future welfare of his friend, ~~and~~ allied a plebeian name to the lustre of his dynasty.

Lavallette ~~was~~ ~~not~~ sooner married ~~than~~ he was forced to depart. Bonaparte resolved to send him to Egypt, that ~~he~~ might not be compromised in the trivial intrigues which ~~were~~ going on in France. Near him, high in his confidence, ~~we~~ still find Lavallette, with his soldierlike devotion, his open cheerfulness, his ~~love~~ for solitary studies in the camp, his poetic enthusiasm for the distant and perilous enterprize. After the capitulation of Malta, ~~he~~ was commanded to accompany ~~the~~ the end of the Adriatic the Grand Master and his ~~army~~. On ~~his~~ return he visited the fortresses of Corfu. He ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~to~~ have carried ~~the~~ of peace to the Pacha of Janina, but the latter was then fighting on the ~~banks~~ of ~~the~~ Danube. On arriving before Aboukir, Lavallette ~~had~~ ~~not~~ ~~yet~~ ~~arrived~~ with the unfortunate Brueys, ~~when~~



he found moored in the roads, preparing for a battle and inflated with the hope of a certain victory. He departed the day before the battle, and after having withstood a violent storm at the mouth of the Nile, he went to Cairo, and from that time he only twice left the General; first to accompany an Alexandria Citizen Beauchamp, at a moment when the plague raged with the greatest violence in that city, and the second to visit Andréossy when he went to reconnoitre Pelusium.\*

Lavallette was admitted to the intimacy, the conversations and the confidence of Bonaparte; he was his table companion and his reader,† and he also shared his dangers.‡ He fought

\* See the notes to Vol. I.—the narrative of a journey to Pelusium.

† Bonaparte was very fond of novels. One evening, however, he said to Lavallette, "Come, Mr. Enthusiast, read me that famous letter from La Meillerie!" It was in Cairo, the heat was suffocating. Lavallette, for shelter from the insects, had taken refuge behind the muslin curtain of the General, who was in bed, and showed, as the reading advanced, the greatest signs of impatience; he stopped him, and bade him good night in the following words: "That's enough, Lavallette; this passion is too much for me."

‡ Bonaparte brought eight aides-de-camp with him to Egypt; three perished there. Julian and Sulkowsky were

next ■ him ■ the Pyramids, and Mount Thabor; ■ crossed the desert by his side, and followed him ■ the murderous siege of St. John of Acre. This ■ a memorable period of Lavallette's life, and he was fond of recalling it to his recollection. His friends will never forget his narrative of the fourteenth assault commanded by Kleber, which he used ■ take ■ much pleasure in repeating. It seemed like a ■ taken from ■ epic poem.

The curtain that protected ■ great part of the town and the palace of Djezzar had been opened. The grenadiers of Kleber, brought back to the trenches by a strong fire of ■ ketry, openly demanded a fresh assault. Bonaparte hesitated; however, pressed by these brave men, he gave the signal. The ■ grand and terrible! The grenadiers rushed forward under a shower of bullets; Kleber, with ■ giant-like stature and ■ thick head of hair, had taken ■ post, sword in hand, ■ the ■ of the ditch, from whence he animated the assailants. The sound of ■ ■ of

murdered by ■ Arabs; Croisier was ■ at St. ■ Acre, ■ Guibert ■ Aboukir; Duroc and Eugene Beauharnais were severely wounded; Lavallette ■ in ■ the hottest encounters, and escaped.

rage and enthusiasm of our soldiers, and the roarings of the Turks, were mixed with the thundering of his voice. In the mean while General Bonaparte, standing in the breach battery, followed the action with a spying-glass resting on the fascines. A cannon-ball passed over his head, and the shock threw him down. In vain Berthier pressed him to leave his perilous post; he received no answer. At the same instant a bullet mortally wounded the young and unfortunate Arrighi, who stood between the General-in-Chief and Lavallette; others were killed by his side, and he did not make the slightest motion to retire. All of a sudden the column of the besiegers stopped. Bonaparte rushed forward and saw the ditch emitting flames; thick grape-shot fell from under the ground and beat down whoever dared to approach; the troops, however, persisted with incredible ardour. Kleber, enraged, was striking his thigh with his sword, but the General-in-chief, convinced that the obstacle was not to be surmounted, gave, by a sign with his hand, the order for the retreat.

It was thus that the siege of John of Acre concluded. Bonaparte having left Syria and added to his immortal campaign the bulletin of

Aboukir, delivered the command of the army into the hands of Kleber ; and after stopping Corsica on his way, he was received on the shores of France by the enthusiasm of the citizens, carried in triumph to Paris, where he overthrew, as it were with a breath, the worm-eaten throne of the Directors. France applauded when the young hero, borne upon the consular shield by his lieutenants, appeared in her eyes as an umpire and a saviour. Lavallette had followed Bonaparte on his return, and was useful to him in the coup d'état of the 18th Brumaire.

War, however, continued with Austria. The French Government wished to have the eventful scene, and was capable of judging which would be most favourable for a negotiation. Lavallette was sent to Dresden, with all the necessary powers to treat of peace with Austria ; but General Moreau was at Hohenlinden the real negotiator for France. Peace was concluded, and Lavallette returned to Paris.

Here ended his military and diplomatic career. The First Consul, whose chief care was directed towards his reign, which had already begun, though under a republican form, wished

to involve still himself in the Government of France, ■ those among his companions in ■ of whose fidelity, zeal, and talent ■ had received proofs. Lavallette ■ chosen among the first. Appointed in the beginning Commissioner-General of the Post Office, he obtained ■ the establishment of the empire the title of Postmaster-General, to which Bonaparte, at a later period, added those of Count, Counsellor of State, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.

M. Lavallette gave himself wholly up to the duties of his situation. ■ ambition ■ satisfied. So that when, in 1815, Napoleon offered him the Ministry of the Home Department, he preferred resuming the functions he had already fulfilled, in difficult times, with equal zeal and ■. It must, in fact, not be forgotten ■ he ■ to organize the service of the Post-office ■ a time when France, bounded ■ side by the Rhine, extended ■ the other ■ both the Peninsulas, and kept up armies ■ all Europe. He was, ■ measure, the centre from whence motion and ■ to depart and circulate over ■ vast empire. ■ constantly maintained, with a laudable ardour, the sacred connections of the soldiers with their mother

country ; the exchange of glory and enthusiasm between the army and the citizen. ■■■ elevated station, put ■■■ in possession of many family secrets. Never could policy oblige him ■■■ reveal them. " With him candour ■■■ effusion of heart ■■■ carried any danger with them."\*

We need not recall, then, the many famous events which ■■■ up the period of the empire, but which have no connection with the present sketch. We may pass ■■■ the golden dreams of ■ man too strongly intoxicated with his fortune ;—we may leave M. Lavallette, governing during twelve years the Post-office with a firm and discreet hand ; carrying to the discussions of the council of state his knowledge, clear judgment, and the inspirations of his upright conscience ; shining in the circles of an elegant and polished court ; and towards the decline of so much grandeur, when the soil began ■■ tremble beneath the throne, giving to the Emperor the bold advice of a friend, which ■■■ proudly rejected. The world knows the ■■■

The events of 1814 restored Count Lavallette to private life, from which he did not stir

\* ■■■ spoken by General Sebastiani ■■■ tomb of Lavallette.

until after the return of Bonaparte to the capital ■ the ■■■ of ■■■ of the following year. Attempts have been made to place in ■ ■■■ light the motives that rallied him to the Imperial throne after the whole army ■■■ ■■■ acknowledged the Emperor, and in the midst of such exciting circumstances. These motives, however, he drew from ■■■ conscience. "He was accused of having been prejudiced; *he* ■■■ convinced he had been faithful.\*"

His return to public affairs ■■■ marked by ■■■ act of moderation, of which he in vain set the example to his enemies. One of the chief clerks of his department ■■■ in a busy ■■■ ner and presented him with a list of suspected persons; M. Lavallette let him speak out, and when the informer had finished, he said to him: "Pray, Sir, have you ever looked an honest man in the face?" The clerk, abashed, faltered out a few confused words—"Well, Sir, now you may learn who I am," and taking the list he threw it into the fire.

M. Lavallette ■■■ frequently called to the Emperor during the Hundred Days. He ■■■ him in his councils and in ■■■ privacy. The Emperor ■■■ resolved not to continue ■■■

\* Words of Count Montlosier.

unless it was to defend the soil. The spirit of liberty had made its way to him; his table re-echoed with liberal professions that perplexed him. He said at that time to M. Lavallette, in the secret bitterness of a confidential conversation: "But what do they want? Liberty of the press? I shall give them more of it perhaps than they wish. Let them only suffer as to France." France was again invaded; and the fortune of the Emperor expired on the field of Waterloo.

That event was for Count Lavallette the beginning of a series of unheard of sufferings. Secure in the persuasion of his innocence, he remained in Paris; but he was apprehended on the 18th of July, while at table with his friends. He was placed in solitary confinement. His trial began: the preparations were tedious and threatening. The fate of Labedoyère, then of Marshal Ney, had omens for his own. On the 19th of November he appeared before the jury accused of having been an accomplice in the conspiracy which brought about the events of the preceding 10th of March; he defended himself in the most noble manner;\* but after two days'

\* The celebrated Tripiier helped him with his advice, and gave him proofs of his generous friendship.



discussion, overwhelmed by the force of ~~the~~ in-  
~~teresting~~ passions which ~~had~~ been excited by ~~the~~  
 reaction, and ~~was~~ daring enough to seek ven-  
 geance through the medium of the law, ~~he~~ ~~was~~  
 sentenced ~~to~~ death. ~~He~~ heard ~~his sentence~~  
 read with great calmness, and said with a firm  
 voice ~~to~~ his sorrowing friends, "My friends,  
~~this~~ is a cannon-ball." Then turning to the  
 numerous clerks of the Post-office who had  
 borne witness against him, he made them ~~a~~  
 salute with his hand, and said: "Gentlemen of  
 the Post-office, receive my farewell greetings."

~~His~~ voice, which resounded mildly, yet firmly  
 through the court, amidst the general conster-  
 nation, might have made people suppose he ~~was~~  
 resigned; but, when he returned to his solitary  
 dungeon, the old soldier felt his heart quail at  
 the thoughts of the death that awaited him.  
 He wrote ~~to~~ one of his old companions in ~~arms~~  
 who ~~at~~ that time enjoyed great influence ~~in~~  
 court, to beg he would solicit for him the fa-  
 vour of being shot. A cruel refusal was the  
 only ~~answer~~ he received from his friend. From  
~~that~~ moment the consciousness of the injustice  
 under which ~~he~~ suffered, stimulated ~~his~~ courage.  
 He endeavoured to reconcile his mind to the  
 idea of that death ~~at~~ ~~which~~ he ~~was~~ ~~as~~ dismayed:

he listened to the description the turnkeys made of the humiliating preparations by which the execution preceded, and of the horrible details of the execution. He made them repeat their story several times, and insisted on knowing all. At last, after having struggled for some time with the horror of these gloomy thoughts, which haunted his days and agitated his sleep with frightful dreams,\* he at last felt himself capable of tran-

\* One dream in particular left very deep impressions on the mind of Lavallette, which time itself was not able entirely to efface. This is the manner in which he related it :

“One night, while I was asleep, the clock of the Palais de Justice struck twelve, and awoke me. I heard the gate open to relieve the sentry ; but I fell asleep again immediately. In this sleep, I dreamed that I was standing in the Rue St. Honoré, at the corner of the Rue de l'Arbre Sec. A melancholy darkness spread around me ; all was still, nevertheless a low and uncertain sound came from all sides. All of a sudden, I perceived at the bottom of the street, and advancing towards me, a troop of cavalry, the horses, however, were flayed. The men held torches in their hands, the red light of which illumined the without skin and bloody muscles. Their hollow eyes glared fearfully in their sockets ; their mouths opened from ear to ear, like helmets of hanging flesh covered their hideous faces. The horses dragged along their own skins in the kennels, the blood overflowed from their wounds. The windows appeared and disappeared alternately in dismal silence ; low, inarticulate groans filled the air ; and

quilly awaiting death; all his thoughts were then directed to the comforting of his family and friends. "Why do you deplore me?" he said to them; "an honest man may be murdered, but his conscience follows him to the scaffold."

Days, however, passed on. The Court of Cassation had rejected his writ of *habeas corpus* petition for pardon, presented by *Monsieur* Lavallette, and vainly supported by the cou-

I remained in the street alone, petrified with horror, and deprived of strength sufficient to secure my safety by flight. This horrible troop continued passing in a rapid gallop, and casting frightful looks on me. Their march, I thought, continued for five hours; and they were followed by an immense number of artillery-waggons, full of bleeding corpses, whose blood still quivered; a disgusting smell of blood and bitumen almost choked me. At length, the iron gate of the prison shutting with great force, awoke me again. I made my repeater strike; it was no more than midnight, that the horrible phantasmagoria had lasted no more than two or three minutes—that is to say, the time necessary for relieving the sentry and shutting the gate. The cold was the watchword short. The next day, the turnkey confirmed my calculations. I nevertheless do not regard one single event in my life, the duration of which I have been more exactly to calculate, of which the memory is deeper engraven in my memory, and of which I preserve a more perfect consciousness."

rageous zeal of the Duke de Raguse, had been refused. The day of execution approached. The unfortunate man had no hope left: the turnkeys themselves trembled, and they came near him, with pity and emotion. On the eve of that fatal day, the Countess Lavallette entered the prison. She put on a pelisse of merino, richly lined with fur, which was accustomed to wear when she left a ball-room: in her reticule she hid a black silk gown. Coming up to her husband, she assured him with a firm voice, that all was lost, and that he had nothing more to hope than in a well-combined escape. She showed him the woman's attire, and proposed to him to disguise himself. Every precaution had been taken to secure his escape. A sedan-chair would receive him on his coming out of prison; a cabriolet waited for him on the Quay des Orfèvres; a devoted friend, a safe retreat, would answer any farther objections. M. Lavallette listened to her without approving of her hazardous plan: he resigned to his fate, and refused to fly from it. "I know how I shall play my part in a tragedy," he said, "but spare me the burlesque farce. I shall be apprehended in my ridiculous disguise, and they will, perhaps,

expose me to ■■■ mockery of the mob! On the other hand, if I escape, you will remain ■ prey to the insolence of prison valets, and ■■■ persecution of my enemies!"

"If you die, I die; ■■■ your life to ■■■ mine!"

The prisoner yielded ■ her urgent entreaties.

"Now put ■ the disguise," she added; "■ time to go; ■ farewell—no tears—your hours ■ counted!"

And when the toilet ■■ finished,

"Adieu!" she said; "do not forget to stoop when you pass under the wickets, for fear the feathers of your bonnet should stick fast!"

She then pulled the bell, and rushed behind ■■■■ The door opened; he passed, followed by an old servant of his wife, and leaning on his daughter's arm. When they arrived ■ the sedan chair, the chairmen ■■ not there. The soldiers of the guard-house had assembled ■ see Madame Lavallette, and looked ■ without moving! This ■■ ■ fearful moment. The ■■■ arrived ■ last; the chair went off. A few minutes later, ■ cabriolet, drawn by ■ swift horse, rolled ■■■ the stones of the Pont Michel.\*

\* These particulars, and those that follow, are ■■

This took place on the 20th of December. Lavallette remained concealed in Paris until the 10th of January. A singular favour of fortune gave him as a refuge the very roof under which lived some of his political enemies,\* equally powerful by his name, his station, and his wealth. From the garret floor which Lavallette inhabited, he heard persons crying in the streets the police ordinance which prescribed search after his person. The barriers were shut; the deliverance of passports suspended; expresses, bearing the description of his person, were flying about on every side. In the Chambers, in the court circles, the utmost consternation prevailed among those who were convinced that all was lost if M. Lavallette was not retaken. Paris, however, rejoiced, while the police, falsely accused of connivance, burned with impatience to damp the public joy, and answer, by a feat worthy of its zeal, the complaints of the gilded drawing-rooms, and the reproaches that re-echoed from the tribune.

thing more than a very concise abridgment of the narrative Lavallette used frequently to make his friends, appears in a complete form in the second volume of the Auto-Memoirs.

It was not until his death, which his memoirs will now explain to the public.

In the midst of all these dangers, Count Lavallette lived, protected by a family to whom he was personally unknown, but whose courageous friendship helped him to bear the agonies of his concealment. Many days passed on between agreeable conversation and diversified reading: a double-barrelled pistol, under a pillow, like a talisman, secured to him some nightly rest. This lasted seventeen days. Finally, on the 9th of January 1816, at eight o'clock in the morning, he went on foot with a friend to Captain Hutchinson's lodgings, and next day, at the very hour when a gibbet was being put up in the Place de Greve for his execution in effigy, he set off, dressed in English regimentals, with Sir Robert Wilson, crossed the barriers in an open cabriolet, and proceeded to Mons. During this journey, M. Lavallette, who did not know one word of English, was forced to keep a handkerchief to his face, as if he had been suffering from a violent tooth-ache, that he might not be under the necessity of speaking to the English officers that stopped his guide on the road. Once, at Compiègne, having entered a public inn, a travelling clerk of a trading house told him the whole history of his escape from prison,

accompanied by the ■■■■ ridiculous circumstances, and adding between every sentence the words, " You may believe me, for I ■■■ in Paris ■■ the time." Another time, near the frontiers, ■ captain of gendarmerie asked for their passports, and took them with him. M. Lavallette travelled under the ■■■■ of Colonel Loesack.\* The Captain ■■■■ back ■ long while afterwards, saying that there ■■■ ■■ Colonel of that ■■■■ in the English army. ■■ Robert replied, that he ■■■ talking nonsense; — that they ■■■■ fools for staying ■ long; and, making ■ sign to the postilions, they ■■ off at full speed. At Mons his generous guide ■■■ to leave him. M. Lavalletté, deeply affected, pressed his hands while expressing his gratitude; but Sir Robert, still maintaining his wonted gravity, smiled without replying. At last, after half an hour's silence, he turned to M. Lavallette, and said, in the most serious manner possible, " Now pray, my dear friend, why did you not like to be guillotined?" M. Lavalletté stared ■ him, surprised ■ such ■ question;—" Yes," added Sir Robert, " I have been told you solicited as a favour to be shot."

\* M. Lavallette ■■ not ■■■ ■■■ of Cosser until he arrived ■ ■■■■



"Because the condemned person is placed in a cart, his hands tied behind his back ; then he is bound to a plank which is slipped under the axe."

"Ah! I understand; you did not wish to have your throat cut like a calf.\*"

M. Lavallette crossed a part of Germany, and entered upon the hospitable soil of Bavaria. The King received him with great zeal, and protected him against the French Ministry, who insisted on his being delivered up to them. The Duchess of St. Leu offered him her house, and Prince Eugene lavished on him all the consolations of friendship.

In 1822, letters of pardon, granted by Louis XVIII. restored him to his native country. M. Lavallette thus hoped to enjoy still some happy days ; but, when he arrived in Paris, in the midst of the congratulations that poured on him from all sides, one voice remained silent, and that was his wife's! From that decisive hour, when, with such overpowering energy she had arranged his escape, and remained an hostage in his place, she had not seen him. And she looked upon him without emotion and without tears. She knew him not!

\* This anecdote is literally repeated in the Memoirs.

The unfortunate lady [ ] spent all her [ ] in saving him!

This last trial surpassed all the rest. M. Lavallette [ ] overwhelmed by it. He wrote to the King:—"Your Majesty [ ] restored to me possessions I prized more than life; but all your royal favour [ ] never counterbalance my misfortune."

His unfortunate situation traced [ ] him the path he ought to follow. He gave up the world, where he had left such brilliant recollections and [ ] many [ ] friends, and devoted himself to complete solitude, which he only once left to go to London in 1826, and support Sir Robert Wilson's election. His life [ ] continued scene of devotion. He repaid his wife by daily care, and by pious and delicate attentions, almost as great [ ] he had received from her; and when [ ] overtook him, he expired tranquilly, for he left [ ] debt behind him.

Study was the only comfort he had in his [ ] tirement; during [ ] his lifetime he had cultivated literature with assiduity and enthusiasm. In the camp before Mentz, [ ] the table of General Bonaparte, in the drawing-room of the Tuileries, [ ] always passed for a remarkably

witty man ■ most agreeable ■ His misfortunes multiplied for him opportunities for study and reflection, ■ that, when ■ returned from exile, he had nothing to do but to follow ■ movement and progress of New France. Though far from his country, he had advanced with her; he had her manners, her enduring patience, her confident hope in future events,\* her ardour for useful reform, her freedom from all ridiculous delusions. His mind possessed all the freshness of youth, and he viewed with enthusiasm the efforts making in favour of glory and liberty. The consequence was, that he was respected by men of all ages, but that he was more particularly pleasing to the young. They loved to hear him speak; all the past lived in his recollection, with its real colours, adulterated neither by ■ enthusiasms ■ by regret for the high station he ■ lost. Numberless witty sayings, interesting and unexpected, flowed without effort in his rich and easy conversation. His imagination gave a colouring to objects; but fiction was repugnant to his just and accurate mind. ■

\* ■ Lavalette should have lived ■ few months longer. The Revolution of July ■ realized ■ hopes, ■ would have ■ all his wishes.—Note of the French Editor.

lively discourse, like an amusing book, kept his friends by his side till night was far advanced, and cheated time in its rapid flight.

Death, however, unexpectedly aimed his shaft at the victim amidst his books and his unfinished labours. Even the day preceding his decease was devoted to study and friendship. Under the hoary frost of age, his mind preserved all its vigour; his heart was young by the warmth of his virtues.

This reflection comforts us.

Though he fell beneath an unexpected blow, Count Lavallette died in the sixty-first year of his age, surrounded by his family, and regretted by his friends.

If he had died in 1815, by the political sword which struck many other victims, fifty years of his existence would have been suddenly cut off (not the happiest surely): but what a cruel death awaited him, what a funeral! in a public thoroughfare, transporting his mutilated remains, and amidst the cries of the Grève, the solitude of Clamart.

But the victim escaped. Banishment defended him against death; by degrees passions are calmed; rage and resentment appeased. Thus, at last, he breathed the whole of a

guinary trial **out** the dust; the justice of **the** sovereign **turns** out the fatal page; **the** hon-  
**our** resumes **his** place and rank under the  
 same Heaven that **sheds** as a canopy to his **ac-**  
 cusers and his judges; and when his last hour  
 arrives, **his** soul leaves the earth among the  
 endearments and blessings of his children;  
 religion receives him; his country honours **him**  
 remains; his companions of all times, his friends  
 of **all** parties, throng around him; the salute  
 of the brave resounds over his grave, and Fame  
 repeats to France the farewell of friendship.

Manes of victims, of whatever party, who  
 have been condemned for political crimes, and  
 on whom the thunderbolt has **fallen** in the fury  
 of the storm, let the fate of Lavallette comfort  
 you:—you have all been restored to your rights  
 in his person!

CUVILLIER FLEURY.

**MEMOIRS**  
**OF**  
**COUNT LAVALLETTE.**



## TO THE READER.

I ~~should~~ should have determined to record, in writing, the events which have passed before my eyes, nor ~~those~~ those in which I have acted a part during eight and twenty years, ~~I~~ I not been involved in so conspicuous a ~~manner~~ manner in the catastrophe that put an end to the Imperial Government; but I thought it my duty to leave, both to my family and my friends, an indisputable testimony of my innocence and general conduct. It would, moreover, be but ill requiting the interest with which so many honourable persons have favoured me, ~~to~~ maintain a silence which my enemies might misuse to justify their persecutions.

My ~~intention~~ intention was to ~~describe~~ only late events; but having been for above twenty



years attached to the Emperor Napoleon, it appeared to me that I ought not to pass over in silence my part, at least, of his glorious history. Could I look upon myself as liberty to deprive posterity of any circumstances connected with a hero who will never cease to engross attention? He has been exposed to the insults of my ungrateful contemporaries, and it is my duty to oppose truth to those insults. No exertion has been wanting on my side to avoid being led away by the deep affection I shall cherish to the end of my life for a man who has been my general, my sovereign, and my benefactor. It is not, however, his public actions, and still less the wars which have adorned a lustre upon his life, that I pretend to describe. He has still friends left among the generals who shared his toil and his glory: to them the noble task belongs. I shall paint the private man. Few persons have known him so well as I have; and historians gathering materials, may place full confidence in my recital. I shall mention no other facts than those of

which I have ~~been~~ an eye-witness; and I am much mistaken if my character will not prove a ~~reliable~~ voucher for their truth.

Still, I require much indulgence. I write far from my country,\* in deep solitude, often depressed by misfortune, and deprived of the materials requisite for recalling facts, dates, ~~and names~~. The impressions are, however, still vivid in my memory and in my heart.

Many persons seeing my name on the title-page of these Memoirs will perhaps expect to find in them ~~an~~ abundant feast of anecdote and scandal: they will be mistaken. During thirteen years I ~~lived~~ a delicate situation, thanks ~~to~~ which I have discovered some painful ~~truths~~ of the human heart; but I will not disgrace my character by publishing them. It

\* A great part of ~~these~~ Memoirs ~~was~~ written in Bavaria, during ~~the~~ Lavallette's banishment, in his various ~~residences~~ on the borders of Lake Starenberg, ~~at~~ Lichstadt, and ~~at~~ Augsburg. ~~It~~ will however ~~be~~ observed in reading the conclusion, ~~that~~ they ~~have~~ revised ~~the~~ ~~work~~ ~~at~~ Paris, or rather ~~in~~ ~~the~~ country ~~near~~ Sevres.—(Note of the Editor.)

is not with rubbish ■■■ durable ■■■■■  
■■■ be raised.

It ■ my resolution that this work ■ ■■  
■■■■ during my life. Not that I wish to  
escape criticism ; but because ■ feeling which  
honourable minds alone ■■ appreciate, makes  
it a duty in ■■ to occupy the public atten-  
tion ■ longer with myself. My unfortunate  
celebrity has been dearly bought, and I ■■■  
want rest rather than pity.

# MEMOIRS

## COUNT LAVALLETTE.

### CHAPTER I.

My education and early tastes.—I witness the beginning of the Revolution.—Plunder of M. Reveillon's warehouses.—Convocation of the States General.—Taking of the Bastille.—Murder of M. Foulon.

I was born in Paris in 1769. My father having enjoyed a liberal education, being sensible of its advantages, watched my mine with constant application. I went late to school, because my health was indifferent, and left it in 1788; after having, for eight years, filled my head with Latin, in which I never was proficient,—and with Greek, which I have completely forgotten. My confessor

most excellent man, but he heated my imagination to preserve my morals. ■■■ put into my hands a great many religious books, and took ■ particular pleasure in making me learn the sacred orators by heart. I ■■■ so pleased with the sermons of Massillon, and the funeral orations of Bossuet, ■■■ I had no doubt but the church ■■■ my real calling. I tormented my family until I got permission to follow a course of lectures on theology; but the very first year ■■■ sufficient to disgust me. The method of disputing in bad Latin, the everlasting passion for proving both sides of the question, without presenting fixed ideas upon any subject whatever, inspired ■■■ with ■■■ aversion for ■■■ study. I could not conceive why so much trash should be deemed ■ necessary introduction to the eloquence of the pulpit. ■ resolved, therefore, in preference, to follow the bar. My father observed with satisfaction the turn my ■■■■ ■■■ taken, and it was decided that I should be placed, first, in ■ notary's, ■■■ then in ■ attorney's office. The

notary's business appeared to me **■** more irksome than theology. I remained, however, nearly a year with him, after which I went to the legal practitioner, and was fortunate enough **■** find him **■** sensible **■** His name was Dommanget, and his love of his profession **■** confined to the profits he drew from it. He possessed **■** large and well-chosen library; and as I cost him no salary, he suffered **■** to pass my time among his books. There I read many excellent works, and gained a taste for literature that has never diminished. I studied, in particular, the history of France, of which I had not previously the least idea. A strange system of instruction prevailed **■** that time. Thousands of young **■** every year left the university, after having finished their studies, their heads being **■** with republican maxims, their minds inflamed with admiration of the virtue of the ancient commonwealths, **■** cordially despising **■** monarchical governments, and **■** the same time shamefully ignorant of the history of their mother country.

It was once during my eight years' studies that I hear the name of Henry the Fourth pronounced; and I must own, that at the age of seventeen I was acquainted neither with the time nor the manner in which the House of Bourbon mounted the throne.

The events that preceded the grand drama of 1793 took me by surprise in the midst of my books and my love of study. I was then reading "L'Esprit des Lois," a work that charmed me by its gravity, depth, and sublimity. I wished also to become acquainted with the code of our own laws; but Dommanget, to whom I mentioned my desire, laughed, and pointed to the Justinian Code, the French law code of the kingdom, the parliamentary decrees, and the statutes of our kings, accompanied by an immense number of interpreters and commentators. A monstrous heap of folio volumes made me shudder, and I concluded somewhat rashly, but like many other people, that it was better to leave the whole, than to load my memory

with such obscure lore. To my graver studies I added the perusal of political pamphlets, which then began to be ■■■■■■■■. Thus my imagination ■■■■ excited, and, wisecre of twenty ■■ I was, I thought ■ should do well to unite with the meditations of my closet the observation of those ■■■■■ of disorder that ■■■■ the harbinger of the Revolution.

There lived ■■ that time in the Faubourg St. Antoine, a wealthy paper-hanging manufacturer called Reveillon. This man employed several hundred work-people, who, being dissatisfied with his refusal to raise their wages, and probably instigated by the enemies of their master, resolved to murder him and ransack the establishment by which they got their livelihood. The disturbance ■■■■ ■■ a great height, and the *guet*, ■■ guard of the town, not being strong enough to suppress it, ■ detachment of the regiment of the Gardes Françaises ■■■■ ordered out against the rioters. Wishing to be ■ witness of the scene, ■ went ■■ the spot, and was standing between the plun-



derers and **the** troops, when the latter arrived by divisions and fired. Many persons **were** killed, several **were** sent to prison, and one man was, I believe, hanged a few days afterwards. **The** brutal **and** **unsuccessful** of restoring public order exasperated me, and I **soon** understood that such **is** the custom of governments that wish, **the** phrase is, to show energy and inspire **re-**spect; in one word, that it is easier to repress crimes by force, than to prevent them by wisdom and resolution. The inhabitants of the suburb never forgot this military expedition; and I have good **reasons** to believe that it contributed greatly to keep alive the spirit of revenge and sedition that prevailed so long among the population of that part of Paris.

The resistance of the Parliament to the orders of Government caused great agitation in the public mind. The magistrates would **no** longer consent to administer justice; the **coun-**sel and attorneys would no longer follow their suits; all **the** clerks of the bar assembled tumultuously, and sided openly with the Parlia-

ment. These young ■■■■ formed ■■ that time ■■ corporation ■■■■ "La Bazoche." They had their own chiefs, observed a ■■■■ of discipline, and ■■■■ ■■ peculiar dress. Though I was not enlisted in their body, one of my fellow clerks proposed that ■■ should join them, ■■■■ I ■■■■ sented. We found them in the garden of the Luxembourg, several hundred in number, highly excited, and disposed to procure arms. I took it in my head to propose to several among them to attack the guard of the Théâtre Français, seize their muskets, and march against the battalion of the guards stationed in the Place Dauphine. My proposal ■■■■ received with enthusiasm, and communicated ■■ all the groupes. Some young men, more reasonable than the rest, and who probably had ■■■■ there with the sole view of dissuading and restraining the others, expressed ■■ wish to ■■ the author of so wise a plan. One of them ■■■■ amined ■■■■ from head to foot. The shortness of my stature made him smile, and he found but little difficulty in proving the extravagance

of ■ resolution, the consequences of which ■ inevitably be ■■ to us. The ■ violent among ■ left the garden to proceed towards the Place Dauphine. The soldiers stood dispersed with their arms piled beside them. We looked at one another; and I know not what would have been the result, ■ the drum had not suddenly beat to rally the troops.

These tumultuous scenes had already lasted eighteen months, and by the ridiculous success obtained in the Faubourg St. Antoine, Government seemed persuaded that the armed force would be sufficient to ■ all ends. The States General had assembled ■ Versailles, having been summoned at once by the Parliament, who wished to embarrass the Court and revenge itself,—by the Ministers, who knew not which way to act,—and by the majority of the nation, justly discontented with ■ incapable Government, and perhaps also tired of too uniform ■ tranquillity. The States General soon felt that the system and prejudices of the

Court would be insuperable obstacles to the redress of the evil. They wished for a plan of government in which the rights of the nation ■ large, rather than those of the privileged classes, might be considered. M. Necker, who was ■ clever financier, ■ philosopher, and by birth the citizen of ■ republic, encouraged them. But the King, yielding to the representations of his courtiers, and to ■ secret aversion he entertained for M. Necker, dismissed him from his councils. The news of this event reached Paris abruptly on the 12th of July, at ■ moment when the inhabitants were dispersed in the several public walks. It spread confusion and grief ■ ■ sides ; whilst the busts of M. Necker and the Duke of Orleans were carried in triumph through the streets. Orators, mounted ■ chairs in the ■ Royal, drew crowds around them. " All is lost," they said : " the States General ■ to be dissolved. Already your most zealous defenders are obliged to fly, and ■ you will groan under an insufferable load of taxes, and the sanguinary

caprice of a horrible despotism." The agitation occasioned by speeches of this kind was considerably augmented by the presence of the Swiss soldiers. Government wanted to make some of the regiment of the Guards to disperse those whom they called rebels; but the soldiers pushed their officers back, and took the part of the people. A detachment of the regiment of Royal German cavalry presented itself, and some hooted. They tried to charge the crowd, but they were fired at, and the Swiss encamped in the Champ de Mars were sent away. The mob, grown furious through exasperation, then fell upon their natural enemies, the persons employed by the Ferme générale for the collection of the excise duties. These persons were forced to conceal themselves, and the barriers were set on fire. In the midst of this disorder a panic suddenly spread, fearful in its uncertainty, that robbers were approaching to ransack the capital. This was at best but a ridiculous joke, the inventors of which, however, seemed well

acquainted with the character of the Parisians. The citizens, after remaining peaceful spectators of this great tumult, showed at last ■■■■ signs of spirit, and on the 18th of July, above two hundred thousand ■■■■ had armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find. The ■■■■ of this general insurrection terrified the Court, and all the regular troops disappeared from the environs of the capital.

At length arrived the 14th of July, a day for ■■■■ famous, an era for ever memorable, in the annals of France, and almost equally so in the history of every other nation; for there exists ■■ people whose political and civil existence has not been considerably modified by the French Revolution.

For the mob to pursue police officers, collectors, and spies, is ■ natural thing; but how did an immense population first conceive the idea that their fate was connected with the taking of the Bastille, and persuade themselves that their victory was complete when they ■■■■ masters of it?

The fortress of the Bastille was built in the reign of Charles the Fifth, ■ ■ time when fire-arms were scarcely known. Situated without the precincts of the city, beyond the Porte St. Antoine, it ■■ evidently ■■■ intended as ■ check upon the metropolis. It ■■■ the King meant to keep his treasures there; but the interior distribution clearly evinced that ■■■ destined to ■■■ as ■ state prison. This pretended fortress consisted of five towers, about one hundred and twenty feet high, joined together by strong high walls, and surrounded by broad deep ditches. Its entrance ■■■ protected by drawbridges, and on the 14th of July it ■■■ commanded by a governor, and defended by about sixty Swiss veterans; ■ few old guns, of small size, ■■■ placed on the terraces of the towers. There ■■■ nothing very formidable in its appearance; but something like a superstitious terror pervaded the minds of the people, and most marvellous stories ■■■ told respecting the Bastille. For many ages, the most noble victims of despotism had groaned within

its mysterious walls. Some prisoners, who had been fortunate enough to escape from it, had published most terrifying accounts. Those formidable towers, those vigilant sentinels, who suffered no one, ■■■■ by stealth, to ■■■■ a look towards them; — these ■■■■ ferocious-looking guards, frightful by their appearance, and ■■■■ frightful still by their deep silence,—all united to excite terror and anxious curiosity. Nevertheless, this state prison ■■■■ not dangerous ■■■■ for the people: it was designed for persons of high birth, or for literary people who ventured to displease the ministry. But to the wish of satisfying curiosity ■■■■ added a noble feeling of pity for the ■■■■ victims supposed to be shut up in the fortress, and the whole population of Paris resolved to make themselves masters of the Bastille. A considerable number of muskets and some ■■■■ ■■■■ deposited at the Invalids. The mob repaired ■■■■ that place, seized them, and rushed against the Bastille, ■■■■ by the Gardes Françaises. A few cannon were fired, but did not



much injure the walls. The governor answered by some ■■■ that were lost in the Rue St. Antoine. Terror and rage soon rose to the highest pitch. The governor ■■■ neither troops nor ammunition sufficient to defend himself. He had not even received any positive orders to ■■■ effect. It is said that he lowered the drawbridge to receive ■ deputation of patriots summoning him to surrender. Hulin, afterwards ■ general, who was ■■ of the deputation, assured me, that on entering the governor's court, he and ■■■ companions were fired on. The governor was arrested first, the Swiss major afterwards, and the Bastille was taken. These two officers ■■■■ dragged to the Place de Grève, and loaded with blows and imprecations. I ■■■ there with the unformed battalion of my district. The unfortunate major passed before ■■■ ranks; his stature was tall, and ■■■ aspect venerable. Two ■■■ held him by the throat, and cried with furious gestures, "Here is the villain!" The major ■■■■ to keep up ■ bold appearance, but dismay ■■■

agony were painted in [redacted] countenance. A few minutes afterwards [redacted] heard the report of [redacted] fire-arms. A pistol shot had put [redacted] end to his sufferings. That terrible spectacle inspired me with [redacted] horror and disgust for the licentiousness of the mob, that nothing [redacted] could allay; and the [redacted] I have yet to describe were but too strongly calculated to augment those sentiments.

I could, however, in [redacted] way comprehend, that foreigners who [redacted] killed Frenchmen might, in the first heat of battle, be slaughtered by ferocious conquerors who had no idea of the laws usually observed in war; but I never could explain the murder of Messrs. Foulon and Berthier de Sauvigny. The former [redacted] had been, I believe, Intendant of Paris, and the latter [redacted] his son-in-law, and [redacted] in that employ. In the province, [redacted] Intendant was, through his functions and influence, [redacted] considerable personage. His character, [redacted] abilities, might create esteem, or, [redacted] it [redacted] frequently happened, [redacted] incapacity might excite

dislike. In Paris, on the contrary, the Intendant was in a manner lost in the immensity of the city. In times of scarcity, the people blamed the Prévôt des Marchands, the Lieutenant of Police, and sometimes the Parliament. The Intendant not being a magistrate, was unknown to the multitude; and I dare assert, without fear of being contradicted, that among the middling, and still less among the lower classes, no one was acquainted either with his person or his name. They knew at best the way to his office, where the taxes used to be paid. All of a sudden, however, a rumour spread about, that the Intendant had said, and repeated aloud, that "hay was good enough to feed the Parisian rabble." Messrs. Foulon and Berthier had fled. Some zealous patriots pursued and overtook them at about twenty leagues from Paris. They brought them back, and a hundred wretches butchered them, under circumstances of atrocious barbarity. I crossed the Place de Grève to go to the Comédie Française; it rained, and

there ■■■ no tumult any where but facing the Hôtel de Ville. ■ ■■■ standing on the parapet, when I ■■■ raised above the crowd the figure of an old ■■■ with grey hair; ■ ■■■ the unfortunate Foulon being hanged ■ the lamp post. I returned home to study my beloved Montesquieu; and from that moment I began to hate ■ revolution, in which people were murdered without being heard in their defence.

## CHAPTER II.

Organization of the National Guards.—Lafayette.—Bailly.  
 —The 5th and 6th of October at Versailles.—The King  
 returns to Paris.

THE tumult which on the 14th had been only a riot, next day became a decided revolution, the consequences of which not to be calculated. The taking of the Bastille had elated the minds of the people: three thousand disciplined troops (the Gardes Françaises) formed the vanguard of an army above a hundred thousand strong, of which at least thirty thousand were armed with muskets. It would have been impossible either to attack or disband that army. The government, taken by surprise, was forced to alter its organization, and in the choice of M. de Lafayette

■ commander in chief. The Prévôt ■ Mar-  
chands and city magistrates had fled. In their  
place ■ put ■ mayor and common council,  
titles already in ■ in several French towns.  
M. Bailly ■ elected. He ■ ■ celebrated  
astronomer and ■ clever writer. The States  
General ■ chosen him for their president.  
The whole organization was complete in three  
days; and on the 17th the King came to Paris,  
where he legitimized by his presence and his  
speeches all the outrages that had been com-  
mitted. This step taught ■ friends what they  
had to expect of him, and the partizans of the  
Revolution all they might dare to undertake.  
Rebellion had reached its highest pitch: sol-  
diers and official persons had been killed in the  
exercise of their duty, and still the sovereign  
spoke hesitatingly ■ the subject of these  
crimes.

The provinces, encouraged by the example  
of Paris, hastened to follow it. The same ■  
riers ■ brought down to the country in-  
telligence of the revolution of the metropolis,

carried back accounts of similar occurrences in the several places they had passed through. The States General, which had given the impulse, received it in their turn. The two first estates were obliged to unite to the third. The States took the title of a Constituent Assembly, and from that moment set themselves to work to raise a monarchy where the nation was to be represented by its deputies. Then began the long struggle between new interests and uncurbed passions. The King was a stranger to all the ideas that had circulated for thirty years among his subjects. Bred in the maxims and customs of an absolute monarchy, he could not but observe with dismay the conduct of the assembly; and if he rejected the violent measures he was pressed to adopt, it was owing to the weakness of his character rather than to his wish to spare blood, and also to the hope that a more favourable chance might replace in his hands the authority that rebels had wrested from him. The only reasonable step would have been to take the

bly he ■ longer possessed the power of dissolving, by going still farther than they did; and to give of his own accord ■ constitution which would have maintained ■ of the privileges of the nobility, and determined the rights of the people. Such was, in fact, M. Necker's proposal: the King rejected it, and all ■ lost.\*

The plan of quitting Versailles, ■ establishing himself in some stronghold, appeared to the King the most advantageous one; but it was ■ discovered, and the patriots felt alarmed. The inhabitants of Paris had not only organized their military force, but also their poli-

\* The translator cannot help remarking, that M. de Lavallette has been betrayed by his memory in several parts of this passage. 1. The *Prévôt des Marchands* (M. de Flesselles) had not fled; he was murdered at the *Hôtel de Ville*, on the 14th of July, whilst presiding over the electors of Paris. 2. The ■ did not take the name of *Constituent Assembly*, that ■ having been used for the first time ■ years later. ■ far from rejecting any plan of ■ Necker, the King, of ■ own accord, three weeks before these riots, (on the ■ of June,) proposed to the Assembly ■ complete constitutional charter, in thirty-five articles, which the Assembly rejected without even vouchsafing ■ it.



tical institutions. The sixty head-quarters of the several battalions were ■ the ■ time ■ many centres of districts, each of them having ■ president, secretaries, and officers. There all the idlers of the ■ and lower orders went to listen to the popular orators, who practised themselves in that flow of hollow words that afterwards proved ■ fatal. Three months later ■ was suddenly spread in the districts that the King was preparing to fly. The population of the Faubourg St. Antoine ■ soon ■ motion. An immense number of people assembled before the Hôtel de Ville, declaring they would march to Versailles, and bring back the King. M. de Lafayette for a long while refused to put himself ■ their head; but ■ last, intimidated by their threats, and foreseeing that they would otherwise do without him, he ■ word to the principal officers of the National Guards, inviting them to lead to Versailles all the reasonable citizens they could collect, to prevent if possible the fatal consequence he but too clearly anticipated

from these disturbances. A great many National Guards, among whom were some incomplete companies of my battalion, went to the Hôtel de Ville, where I hastened to join them. There we found an enraged multitude exclaiming that they were betrayed, and stirring one another up to murder and acts of outrage. At last the torrent began to move, thickening as it advanced. The commander-in-chief marched foremost, followed by caissons, driven by inebriated women, the refuse of human kind. Then came the National Guards, the pelotons of which were continually broken through by those furious wretches.

My company grew dissatisfied, and received with ill those who came amongst us, that no one would venture to approach us. Our march lasted eight hours, and night had closed in when we arrived at the gates of Versailles. If the Court could have resolved to take violent measures, they must undoubtedly have succeeded. The National Guards do not amount to above six thousand. The

ruffians that preceded and surrounded them ■■■■ in number about eight or ten thousand, but kept such ■■■■ order, that one charge of ■ few squadrons of horse would have been sufficient ■ disperse them, whilst ■ volley or two of cannon-ball would have effectually prevented their return; but the Court lacked courage, and the King thought his family safer in ■ badly guarded palace than on ■ high road surrounded by faithful troops. The arrival of the rabble dismayed the palace, made the regular soldiers stagger, and satisfied the Assembly. Those members who influenced its decisions were not unacquainted with the insults lavished ■ them at Court, ■■■■ with the fate they had to expect if the King succeeded in escaping. The courtiers openly acknowledged that the most disgraceful death awaited the members who had begun to distinguish themselves in the contest. It ■■■■ therefore resolved that the King should ■■■■ to Paris and remain there; but in all probability no ■■■■ knew by whom he ■■■■ to be escorted, and what outrages ■■■■ about to ■■■■

committed. We **■** in the great square facing the palace. The Flanders regiment **■** drawn up before us. The mob surrounded the military. Women, holding glasses of liquor in their hands, entertained the soldiers with vulgar tales and low jests. This **■** too strong a seduction for **■** indifferent to all political discussions. The want of discipline **■** too general for them to be able to resist such temptations, and all the exertions of their officers to maintain order were useless. The colonel either knew not what to do, or dared not **■** to a resolution, for he had **■** positive orders. M. de Lusignan, who commanded the regiment, and whom I knew **■** a later period, was an honourable man; but how could he extricate himself from **■** difficult **■** position, when, at fifty steps from him, the King **■** in as great **■** perplexity as he? The regiment being seduced, the monarch had **■** other defence left than the Life Guards, the Cent Suisses, and his unserviceable court. The National Guards remained under arms until one



■ sufficient for his protection, and that far from accepting the service of the National Guards of Paris, who were extremely devoted to his person, he did not even require those of the Versailles Guards, ■ whom Alexander Berthier (afterwards Marshal Prince of Neufchatel) ■ second in command. From him I heard that he was very ill-treated by the Court party; and though sincerely attached to the King, no one would hear his name mentioned from the day he had accepted ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ mand in the National Guard.

At ■ o'clock we received permission to go to bed. I sheltered myself under the roof of a citizen, who granted me a chamber for my money. The man ■ attached to the King's household,—I cannot recollect in what quality: he pretended to be a warm patriot; and if I had lent an ■ to all he had to say of the inhabitants of the palace, and of the Queen herself, I might have thought myself fully justified in mixing with the rebels. I enquired very coolly from whence he ■ collected ■

those infamous stories. My question first disconcerted him, but he answered in an angry tone: "What I have been telling you is the talk of all Versailles; and yet if the Parisians take the Royal Family from us, they 'll beggar the whole town." I turned my back on the man, and went to sleep till six o'clock, when the drum beating the alarm summoned me to the square. The crime already been committed in the shades of night. The report was, that the wretches had entered the palace by a secret and feebly guarded door; they had murdered the guards that defended it, and pursued the Queen to her bedchamber, from whence she had but just time to escape to the King's apartments. I must own, that my great surprise and indignation, that I joined in the hue and cry of some of my comrades against the Marquis de Lafayette. We had been summoned by him to protect the Royal Family and public tranquillity. Why then were we left to be witnesses of such horrible crimes? Why had we

not been employed? Could there have been any doubt entertained of ■■■ fidelity? Surely one-half of the six thousand ■■■ ■■ mustered would have been sufficient to defend the palace, and would not have been overawed by an ill-armed rabble, exhausted at ■■■ by fatigue and intoxication. But it ■■■ too late; the victims had fallen, and those who ■■■ doomed to perish next were ■■ yet beyond their reach. The Life Guards had barricaded themselves round the King's apartments; their resistance had dismayed the assassins, and given General Lafayette time to come up. He took all the military he fell in with, and the rabble filled the marble court, rending the air with their savage cries. I remained long in suspense concerning the general's conduct during that fatal night. The details of the proceedings instituted ■ short time afterwards against many persons who perhaps were not guilty, appeared to ■■ far from satisfactory. I learned the truth ■■ ■ later period, and Madame de Stael has published it in her Memoirs. The whole



misfortune ■■■ owing to the aversion of the Court to the Marquis de Lafayette,—to the stupid opinion still entertained, that the Royal Family ■■■ sacred in the eyes of the multitude, who would ■■■ dare to look them in the face; and, above all, ■ the foolish presumption of the nobility, who wished to preserve their ■■ exclusive privilege of defending their sovereign. M. de Lafayette had insisted on guarding the palace with his faithful troops, and I venture to ■■■■ that he had brought with him all the members of the National Guards who ■■■■ most distinguished for their honourable feeling, courage, and loyalty; but his offers ■■■■ coolly and sarcastically rejected. However, notwithstanding that refusal and the insults that accompanied it, the general did not give way to culpable confidence. ■■■ visited the posts, and showed himself every where, until midnight. Tranquillity then prevailed ■■ all sides. The rabble lay dispersed and asleep. At two in the morning the deepest silence reigned in the courts, ■■■ great square, and the streets of the

capital; nothing seemed to forebode the approaching outrages. The palace ■■■ attacked a little before day-break. All eye-witnesses have declared that the mob entered by one of the communication doors which ■■■ been left open; the unfortunate Life Guards who defended ■■ ■■ their duty, for they ■■■ killed ■■ their posts. But why was that door open, so near to the Queen's apartments? The palace being of a vast extent, the Life Guards ■■■ not sufficiently numerous to protect it effectually; but then why not close all the outlets? or, rather, why not augment the guard with all the loyal persons that could be found? Why, ■■ the moment of the attack, ■■■ not ten thousand swords drawn by that nobility, so clamorous in their speeches, but who never knew how to defend the King they so bitterly regret? Emigration had at that time not yet commenced. There were in Paris, Versailles, and the environs, ■■■ than twenty thousand noblemen, devoted by feelings of honour ■■■ interest ■■ the defence of the throne and the

of the monarch; notwithstanding which, Louis XVI. was forsaken by them — that fatal day, the plans of which had been openly arranged and proclaimed by those whose real aim was undoubtedly the murder of the Royal Family. I have not yet done with the nobility: their conduct on other occasions was more disgraceful than on this.

The mob crowded in the marble court, and wandering on the outside of the palace, began to express again their designs with frightful howlings. "To Paris! to Paris!" were the first cries. Their prey was promised them, and then fresh cries ordered the unfortunate family to appear on the balcony. The Queen showed herself, accompanied by her children; she was forced by threats to send them away. I mixed in the crowd, and for the first time that unfortunate Princess: she was dressed in white; her head was bare, and adorned with beautiful fair locks. Motionless, and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to me like a victim to the block. The enraged populace with me

moved ■ the sight of ■ in ■ its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate Princess could not even find ■ support in the King, for his presence ■ but augment the fury of the multitude. At last preparations for departure ■ towards appeasing them than promises could have done, and by twelve o'clock the frightful procession ■ off. I hope such a scene will never be witnessed again. I have often asked myself, how the metropolis of a nation so celebrated for urbanity and elegance of manners,—how the brilliant city of Paris could contain the savage hordes I that day beheld, and who ■ long reigned over it! In walking through the streets of Paris, it seems to me, the features even of the lowest and most miserable class of people do not present to the eye any thing like ferociousness, or the meanest passions in ■ their hideous energy. Can those passions alter the features so as ■ deprive them of ■ likeness to humanity ■ does the terror inspired by the sight of ■ guilty wretch give ■ the semblance of ■

wild beast? These madmen, dancing in the mire and covered with mud, surrounded the King's coach. The groupés that marched foremost carried long pikes the bloody and dishevelled heads of the Life Guards butchered in the morning. Surely Satan himself first invented the placing of a human head the end of a lance. The disfigured and pale features, the gory locks, the half-open mouth, the closed eyes, images of death, added to the gestures and salutations the executioners made them perform, in horrible mockery of life, presented the most frightful spectacle rage could have imagined. A troop of women, ugly crime itself, swarming like insects, and wearing grenadiers' hairy caps, went continually to and fro, howling barbarous songs, embracing and insulting the Life Guards. This lasted eight hours before the Royal Family arrived the Place de Grève and alighted the Hôtel de Ville, their first resting-place during protracted misery, that terminated some years afterwards in a horrible death.

Thus terminated the memorable ■ of October,—a day during which it ■ difficult ■ decide what ■ most to be regretted,—the imprudent weakness of the King, ■ the terrible necessity that forced the representatives of ■ noble nation to trample ■ the sacred rights of humanity, and the majesty of the throne, for the accomplishment of their grand design.

## CHAPTER III.

I am employed by M. d'Ormesson, ■■■ of the Presidents of ■■■ Parliament.—His advice and influence.—I become a Royalist.—The Marquis de Favras.—Silly conduct of the Nobility.

THE impression that frightful spectacle made ■■ me, taught ■■ that nature had not designed ■■ to play ■ part in the Revolution, and that I ought to keep carefully aloof from it. But the sight of the Queen so shamefully insulted, and the fate that ■■■ preparing for her august children, inspired in me feelings of loyalty which grew stronger every day. I could not bear to think of the situation of the Royal Family, and the success of the patriots had caused them ■■ show ■ presumptuous exultation that made ■■ hate them. At that period ■ lucky circumstance allowed me to ■■

■■■■ my studies. The convents ■■■■ sup-  
 pressed, and ■ friend of my father got me ad-  
 mitted among ■■■■ persons chosen ■ make  
 out the catalogue of the Monks' library. Some  
 time afterwards, M. d'Ormesson de Moiseau,  
 ■■■■ of the presidents of the Parliament of Paris,  
 who had been appointed King's librarian, wish-  
 ed ■ employ ■ well-informed and laborious  
 young ■■■■ I ■■■■ introduced to him. He  
 received ■■■■ with a kindness that delighted  
 me. He had been told that I knew a little  
 Greek; he ■■■■ himself deeply versed in that  
 language, and to try my knowledge, he laid  
 before me a Xenophon in two columns, Latin  
 and Greek. I blushed at the sight of the for-  
 midable book. The hero himself, during his  
 celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand, never  
 was more perplexed than I. However, my  
 courage revived when ■ looked ■ the presi-  
 dent, whose amiable features inspired me with  
 confidence. I owned ■■■■ I ■■■■ made but  
 superficial studies ■ an obscure college; that I  
 never ■■■■ any share ■ the triumphs of the



university; and that my utmost exertions in Greek had not gone beyond the explanation of ■ fragments of Demosthenes. He smiled at my candour, and began to read fluently the Greek in French, requesting ■ to follow him in the Latin translation. During the time, he placed his hand between the two columns, ■ that I might ■ he made no ■ of the Latin. I could scarcely follow him. I had never met with ■ learned a Greek scholar, and I expressed ■ openly my admiration. He appeared satisfied with me,—partly, perhaps, because he ■ so with himself, and he promised to provide for me. I felt completely happy. A part of the day ■ spent among dusty old books, but I passed every morning ■ few hours with M. d'Ormesson. All I had to expect through ■ influence was merely an inferior employment in the King's library; but I looked upon that as the highest pitch of good fortune; and often since, when in the ■ brilliant situations, I have sighed in thinking of the sweet obscurity ■ had been promised. We were then ■ from

entertaining idea that the [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] designed for both of us, and, in conscience I must own, for having both done [redacted] duty. The painful gratitude with which I remember the kindness of that respectable gentleman will last as long as I live. I [redacted] hear the name of Ormesson without emotion; and whenever chance brought me in presence of some person of his family, I have felt an involuntary wish to address him, to speak of his unfortunate relation, and to solicit his friendship.

The generous kindness of M. d'Ormesson extended not only to my pecuniary welfare; he also gave me [redacted] excellent advice [redacted] the conduct I was to observe in the world—pointed out to me, with truly paternal solicitude, the different quicksands I might encounter. In speaking of the King, he showed himself a subject whose loyalty was carried to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, though he deplored the [redacted] weakness that hurled the Monarch down the precipice through [redacted] of blood. “The

King," he said, "shudders at the thought of spilling a drop of blood; and all his faithful friends will without being able save him. He has been warned of his mistake, but nothing can make him open his eyes; he have therefore no choice but resignation and death." All our conversation upon the same subject; and M. d'Ormesson communicated to me the ardour of his sentiments. Notwithstanding the horror I felt at the sight of tumult that I witnessed every day, I still comprehended well enough that the Revolution being a struggle between the privileged classes and the nation, the latter would, if successful, reap advantages which it had a right to claim. I also felt, that as I did not myself belong to the privileged classes, I was at liberty to remain indifferent to their interests and their contest. But M. d'Ormesson fixed all my thoughts on the deplorable situation of the King and his family. My imagination took fire, and all I perceived was a virtuous Prince in durance—his noble consort

and her children exposed to the most barbarous treatment; and I vowed from that moment to take a share in all the plans that should be attempted for their deliverance.

I must acknowledge that my disgust for the idle prattling of the Revolution not a little contributed to make me a royalist. I am far from refusing a just tribute of esteem to the eminent talents of the Constituent Assembly, and only mean to speak of the assemblies of my section that were held every day, and where I was forced to assist as a national guard. The citizens of Paris are unquestionably very honourable men; but it must have been impossible for any person of good sense and some little instruction, not to feel disgusted at their foolish and extravagant speeches. Their mania for political assemblies and long orations was encouraged by the immense number of gentlemen of the Bar, who made themselves quite ridiculous by misusing perpetually their excessive facility of elocution. In my neighbourhood there lived a lawyer of some

repute called B——, whose exuberance of speech was truly marvellous. The objects of the deliberations were necessarily very circumscribed; but when that —— opened his mouth, we were sure to be overwhelmed with a deluge of quotations and moral sentences, all frequently about a lantern and the stall of an apple-woman. His stentorian voice made the roofs ring; and, after speaking for two hours, he was sure to be rewarded by thunders of applause. The orator then seemed to think himself a Mirabeau, and his auditors the Constituent Assembly deciding over the fate of France. These people setting the example, others, who, at first, listened to them patiently, wished to speak in their turn; and three years afterwards they cut the throats of their instructors, and of those whom the latter had taught them to regard as hostile to their views.

In 1790, I frequently mounted guard in the palace. I expected to see in the countenance of the King marks of grief and pride; but, in my own, I saw nothing but listlessness.

enormous *embonpoint*—his eyes without expression—his gait deprived of all manner of dignity, disconcerted my enthusiasm;—but it rekindled my sight of the Queen and her children. She was a woman and a mother. Born in a foreign country, she had been entrusted to the honour of France. How strong were her claims on my profound devotion! The errors of which she had been accused, supposing the truth of the accusations, were surely deserving of pardon among a nation frivolous enough to be vain of its corruptness. For that unfortunate Queen, therefore, and for her children, my heart moved by the most tender and respectful admiration. Madame Royale then about thirteen years old: the dignity of her countenance—the melancholy expression spread over her features—her tender age—the sincere piety that seemed to fortify her in her misfortunes, drew tears from my eyes. I followed the Princesses to the chapel, and returned quickly to the ranks of the guards again. I would

willingly have given my life for them. So much grandeur in such abasement—so much innocence and beauty threatened with such a fate, might well have ensured to them the protection of every Frenchman. Wherever I went, I spoke of them with a warmth of which, however, I could not succeed in making other young men of my age partake.

I could not imagine that there ~~was~~ not in the Constituent Assembly a strong and active party to ~~save~~ the Royal Family. I knew that M. de Clermont-Tonnerre ~~was~~ very much attached to the Queen. I wrote several letters to him to express my grief, and to beg he would employ my youthful courage. I suppose he looked upon me ~~as~~ a young enthusiast who might bring him into ~~some~~ trouble :—he never answered me, and I believe he acted wisely.

I ~~was~~ observed that M. d'Ormesson became less unreserved than usual in his conversation. I suppose he was himself terrified with the ~~success~~ cess of his plan for making ~~him~~ a royalist ; for,

having tried in vain to moderate the warmth of my zeal, he probably feared I should ruin both him and myself at the same time. When I asked him whether any measures taken to place the Royal Family in safety, he observed that the time for that would come; and then entered into general remarks, of which I could not comprehend the drift. One day, I had just left him when I learned the imprisonment of the Marquis de Favras. It was at eight o'clock in the morning: the particulars of the crime of which the Marquis was accused were not yet known; and already the speech delivered at the Hôtel de Ville by Monsieur, brother to the King, had been published. The Prince had demanded during the night that the Council should assemble at eight o'clock; and there he betrayed M. de Favras, his former servant,\* who had received the instruction, and acted by the orders, with whom he had

\* M. de Favras had been attached to Monsieur as Captain of the Cent Suisses, or guards of the door.—(Note of the Author.)



arranged the flight of the King, of the Royal Family and himself. ■■■ made many protestations of ■■■ attachment to the ■■■ order of things and to the Constitution, and declared himself the first citizen of the kingdom. By that means he delivered ■■■ his confident to the rigour of the laws and to an infamous death on the gallows. The royalists were overwhelmed with dismay and indignation. The most sensible among them felt convinced that the royal cause ■■■ irretrievably lost, and that no hopes ■■■ left for the King. Such treachery, which could not but be the consequence of the most shameful cowardice, discouraged all the friends of the King. "What is to be done," said they, "for a Prince who suffers those who take up his defence to be sent to the scaffold,—who, far from trying ■■■ protect them, finds informers against them among ■■■ own family?" Of ■■■ faults committed by the Court, this ■■■ the ■■■ unpardonable. Excuses may be found ■■■ want of experience, resolution, and strength of mind; but to deliver up one's friends out of

fear,—to abandon them without raising a hand to save them from the scaffold, is unpardonable baseness! M. de Favras was sentenced to death. I was on duty on the quai Pelletier, when the unfortunate man passed it in a cart, with a halter round his neck, and his hands tied before his breast. His countenance seemed so dejected though he himself had been doomed to die. Favras on the contrary, by his noble attitude, his proud and animated look, reminded me of Samblançay, whose death Marot made those celebrated lines, "Lorsque Maillard," &c. He walked up to the Hôtel de Ville, uttered a few noble sentences, took great care not to expose the man who had so cruelly betrayed him, and courageously submitted to his fate. Some wretches were base enough to applaud. A few days before his death, he expressed a wish to see M. Talon, the Advocate-general. To him he spoke in confidence of the particulars of his plan, of the orders he had received from the Count de Provence. "Have you these orders

in writing?" asked the magistrate. "No."—"In that case you have nothing to do but to recommend to the King's generosity your wife and children, for you are ■ lost man." I heard twenty years ago, ■ Dresden, that the family of the unfortunate Favras lived in Bohemia in the greatest misery. My indignation ■ the strange and odious conduct of the Court in this affair ■ so strong, that I made no secret of it to M. d'Ormesson. "You ■ too young," he said, "and at too great ■ distance from the Court, to be able to judge of its motives. Supposing even M. de Favras had received orders, could the Royal Family acknowledge them? That man's death is undoubtedly ■ very unfortunate circumstance, but it ■ a necessary sacrifice to the King's safety. A subject's duty ■ to die for his master. He has perished, the victim of his loyalty. He has suffered ■ ignominious death; but God will receive him in grace, and his sentence will be rectified by posterity." I ■ too much respect for M. d'Ormesson to make any reply;

but he must certainly have perceived that he had not convinced me.

Twenty-eight years have elapsed since the death of M. de Favras. I have read more than twenty times all the particulars of his trial. Neither age, knowledge of mankind, experience, nor the various events I have witnessed, have had power to weaken or modify the impression I received. I am still convinced that those who sacrificed him were guilty of a total want of honesty and good policy, and acted with the utmost baseness. By his conduct in 1788, the King irretrievably lost; and a part of his family inspired sentiments of hatred and contempt that still subsist to this day. Those sentiments were not felt alone by those who were by birth and rank connected with royalty; they were shared by every honest citizen. Many years afterwards I discovered in all classes the same energetic indignation; and when Louis XVIII. re-entered the metropolis, all those who were not away by the enthusiasm of

novelty, and the number **■** great, had **■** the bottom of their heart and **■** their lips the name of the unfortunate Favras.\*

This enterprise, which so fatally terminated, augmented the distrust of the people, and **■** of wonderful service to the revolutionary party. Those who still believed that the King really intended to give the people their promised advantages were undeceived, and his enemies turned it to account to envenom their accusations. Libels **■** spread about with **■** much profusion and such rapidity, that **■** became impossible for the Court to offer any defence. It **■** about that time that the rage of emigration began. It appeared an easier task to go **■** Coblenz **■** threaten, than to remain in Paris to assist **■** King, **■** to commence in the provinces **■** civil **■** the chances of which would

\* **■** reader must here not **■** sight of the peculiar situation in which Count Lavallette **■** placed, as **■** devoted **■** of **■** Emperor and a *personal* enemy of Louis XVIII. A very different account of **■** **■** of M. de Favras may **■** found in *Bertrand ■ Moleville, ■ de ■ Revolution*, vol. ii. page 341. (*Note of the Translator.*)

■ that time have been doubtful, especially when waged by men who ■ unable ■ ■ off their luxurious habits, and who, unknown to themselves, carried in their breasts some of the seeds of the revolution, that ■ ■ say, want of discipline and subordination, discontent ■ ■ ■ ■ for innovation. The Royal Family remained, therefore, surrounded by ■ few hundred noblemen, whom duty, ■ the most noble and courageous fidelity, still retained in France ; but this fidelity ■ ■ accompanied with ■ much hatred of the patriots, and ■ much foolish presumption, that it proved more dangerous than useful to their master. They ■ ■ jealous of the National Guards who did duty in the palace ; their everlasting derision and threats disgusted all the citizens honestly ■ ■ the King. As soldiers, the National Guard undoubtedly ■ ■ not undeserving of ■ ■ little ridicule ; but ought they to have been thus irritated whilst they were giving such disinter- ■ ■ proofs of fidelity, and when they might have been so extremely useful ? The com-

mander-in-chief of the Guards was more particularly the object of their bitter satires. This soured ~~my~~ temper, and I observed with regret, that many honest ~~men~~ who would have laid down their lives for the King, took the fatal resolution of abandoning him. I must say, however, that the Royal Family ~~was~~ far from approving the conduct of their pretended friends. The King and Queen always showed the greatest affability to the National Guards; but their example ~~was~~ not followed, nor ~~was~~ even their remonstrances listened to. I may quote one instance, of which the consequences ~~was~~ fatal. The Duke of Orleans had for some time ~~been~~ that he stood in an equivocal light, and that his position at Court ~~was~~ unworthy of his ~~name~~ and character. ~~He~~ wished to ~~bring~~ ~~to~~ a ~~reconcili-~~ ciliation with the King and Queen. A ~~re-~~ conciliation, prudently managed, succeeded ~~com-~~ pletely. It was agreed that the first Prince of the blood should ~~appear~~ publicly to pay ~~the~~ respects,—I think it ~~was~~ on Easter Sunday. The apartments ~~were~~ crowded. The Prince appear-

ed ■ the moment dinner was being served up ■ the Royal Family. Immediately ■ silly young ■ thinking themselves very clever, cried out—"Take ■ of the dishes! Here comes the Duke of Orleans!" Another imagined he ■ doing some wonderful achievement in brushing by the Prince, and saying insolently—"That ■ a kick." The Prince, seeing himself thus insulted in the King's presence, left the palace abruptly, convinced that the Queen had drawn him into ■ odious snare. From that moment he joined the most violent of the factions, and the ■ and shameful consequences of that step are but too well known.



## CHAPTER IV.

Departure of Louis XVI. for Varennes and return.—The Legislative Assembly.—Beginning of the war.—Riot of the 20th of June.—False hopes of the Royalists.—Attempts of the Marquis de Lafayette in favour of the King.—Failure of those attempts, and flight of Lafayette.

THE members of the Constituent Assembly were still chiefly occupied in preparing an ill-combined constitution ; by it, however, they laid the foundation of the Representative System, which cost them dear, but by which alone France can be saved. All the powers of the state became vested in that Assembly, from the time when the King was unable to wield them. Public Opinion, a jealous and capricious sovereign, commenced her stormy reign : Louis, whom she was driving from his throne, and that her strength no longer reigned, imagined that

should ~~have~~ ~~the~~ sceptre and his crown, where his brother, and the small troop of emigrants that surrounded him, were under foreign ~~con-~~ trol assuming a threatening attitude. As he could ~~not~~ hope to ~~find~~ any Frenchman ~~there~~ would ~~not~~ ~~be~~ flight, the King confided his design to a foreigner, the Swedish Ambassador. The plan ~~was~~ executed with an ~~alliance~~ ~~and~~ a zeal deserving of better success than it obtained. The 21st of June, at eight o'clock in the morning, the city learned with the greatest astonishment that the whole Royal Family had disappeared; but the ~~first~~ feeling of surprise ~~was~~ immediately succeeded by ~~a~~ indifference so general, and by so decided a resolution to dispense with the King and with the royal authority of king, that the grand question of a republic seemed decided. However some persons, ashamed of having been deceived, wished ~~to~~ to stop the fugitives: the particulars ~~of~~ the King's ~~escape~~ ~~at~~ Varennes are well known. The postmaster Drouet, with whom I became acquainted a long time afterwards, ~~was~~ ~~the~~

the King might have passed without hindrance, if he had mounted on horseback he stopped. Drouet then too agitated to have acted in such a with decision. Besides, the escort more than sufficient overawe the few persons whom curiosity had drawn round theriage; and when the tocsin had collected a greater number, a few firm words from the King would have dispersed them or checked them; but the King would not, or rather dared not speak. How severely would history have judged this Prince, had he been less unfortunate!

His return to Paris was the time a most dismal and most imposing. An immense population crowded around him he passed; a hundred thousand armed lined the road and the Champs Elysées, to the Tuileries; a feeling of delicacy, as well as pride, dictated to this multitude the deepest silence. A man deprived of the faculty of hearing might have fancied he the triumphant entrance of

■ conqueror, whilst, in truth, the solemn ■■■■ was only an escort of prisoners. This was the second time they passed in agony the square embellished with the statue of Louis XV.; they were destined to visit it ■■■■ more, and there ■■■■ by the hands of the executioner. The sight of that family ■■■■ heart-rending. Their incomprehensible fate excited horror in some, whilst the timid recoiled from them as from beings bearing a mark of inevitable doom, and whose approach brought with it the contagion of misfortune.

The National Assembly adopted the only reasonable course left to that body, namely, to suspend the royal functions. Louis, ■■■■ the ■■■■ trary, chose the worst possible course,—that of wishing ■■■■ remain ■ king, after his flight had proved his resolution not to execute sincerely the ■■■■ laws, and his antipathy for all that had taken place since the Revolution. His forced return, and all the circumstances with which it was accompanied, had degraded the majesty of the throne, and dissipated those illusions, with-

out which royalty ~~could~~ exist in France. A short time afterwards, the constitution was completed and presented to him for acceptance. ~~He~~ signed it, and here begins that long series of ~~misadventures~~ with which he was reproached in his trial. All things ~~are~~ difficult to a weak mind. A thousand dangers presented themselves ~~to~~ the King's imagination; and it must be owned that he was still more unfortunate in the people that surrounded him, than in his own disposition. A crowd of ambitious men besieged the gates of his palace. The King, who himself had ~~no~~ faith in the constitution, chose ministers who wished to make it ~~their~~ their private ends, ~~and~~ who sometimes indeed struggled with the public folly, but ~~often~~ frequently ~~expressed~~ resented it. At first the King ~~was~~ suffered ~~to~~ try quietly enough the scanty prerogatives of ~~a~~ constitutional royalty. ~~He~~ was allowed ~~a~~ form ~~a~~ guard for the protection of ~~his~~ person, but ~~he~~ entrusted the command of ~~his~~ friends of ~~his~~ own, who ~~were~~ enemies of ~~the~~ Revolution. The law completed ~~his~~ guard with non-com-

missioned officers and privates influenced by the revolutionary spirit, and a few sons of citizens were admitted into it as a proof of the King's sincerity. The division between these different elements surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the Republicans, besides which the King took pains to attach his new guards to his person: attentions, kind words, and that amiability of manner by which he won, had been since Henry IV. unknown to his posterity; contemptuous etiquette scorned the use of such artifices and regarded them as vulgar intrigue. The consequence was, that the Assembly, under I know not what pretence, disbanded the troop, which already amounted to fifteen hundred men. Two obscure municipal officers came to the Palace of the Tuileries, induced the King to follow them to the military school, where they peaceably laid down their arms; the next morning not a trace of them remaining. By a chain of those extraordinary circumstances which belong to the history of our age, there arose from the ranks of these obscure soldiers,

who thus passed under the most ignominious yoke, ■ Marshal of France (Bessieres), ■ man equally distinguished by his gallantry and by ■■ faithful devotion to his master, when ■■ knowledged ■ king by ■■ the sovereigns of Europe. The life of Bessieres ■■■ distinguished by brilliant feats of valour, and would have occupied many bright pages in history, had he not in his latter days disgraced his ■■■■ of glory by odious ingratitude towards his benefactor.

The Constituent Assembly, fatigued by long struggles, had resolved, as much perhaps out of disinterestedness ■■ discouragement, ■■ abandon the field of battle. It ■■■ succeeded by the Legislative Assembly, who found itself surrounded by hatred of royalty among the people, hatred of the constitution on the part of the King, discouragement in the hearts of all honest men, and a faction full of energy in favour of ■ republic. The Assembly divided under two banners. The most ■■■■■■■■■ party, and, what ■ more singular, the most talented

one, ■ to work ■ the destruction of the monarchy, with ■ ardour and ■ blindness ■ inexplicable, that the members of that party, who still survive, have ■■■■ been able to assign any reasonable motives to justify so much fury. The Legislative Assembly, ■ opening, received the King in a very indecorous manner, and the Book of the Constitution with ■ ridiculous solemnity. It is sufficient to point out to ■ people the road to ruin and degradation, and they will stride in it with giant's steps. In the present circumstance they did not mistake the mark. They began by loading the King with obloquy, and then they ridiculed the constitution itself. But the King was a defenceless victim held in reserve, whom they were ■■■■ of finding whenever they might ■■ disposed to sacrifice him. First of all, it was necessary to overthrow the fundamental laws. The constitution ■■■■ therefore attacked in ■■■■ essence,—in the Ministers and the King ■■■■ were ■ put ■ in execution and protect it. During the last three years, ■ boundless pro-



fusion of laws had been enacted,—a circumstance which deprived them of solemnity, their necessary appendage. It consequently not very difficult to bring them into tempt. After them nothing remained but the sovereign, despoiled and insulted, a true *Eccce homo*, who had borne the greatest outrages, and not resolution to look in the face a people, whose first and constant idol had always been courage. They to overthrow that King, and never design wrought with more open audacity. The numerous insults, their regular progress, their variety until the terrible day of the fall,—all was calculated with a coolness and depth of combination, of which there is no other example in history. If the hour of destruction were protracted, merit is due to the exertions of the Court. The abettors of the Revolution wanted to dispose all things according to their plan, and of their chief points was to degrade their victim before they slaughtered him.

However, the sovereigns of Europe now

began to imagine that they ought not to remain idle spectators of our contentions. The French revolution had not alarmed them, for they hoped that our troubles would weaken us. The power of our brilliant nation had made others pay dearly for our glory; and our civilization, which they were forced to admit amongst themselves, wounded their pride. But when, at last, they saw that the great question of social organization assailed their thrones, they resolved to stop the torrent that threatened them. Two of the sovereigns had a conference together, and with the Elector of Saxony at Pilnitz, who, although too wise to approve of their plans, was still, as a monarch, too weak to reject them. Thus, in conjunction with an emperor of Austria and a son of Frederick the Great, a French prince was planning the dismemberment of France, without uttering a word in the defence of his country. The news of this act, so like the partition of Poland, fell on Paris like a thunderbolt. The great question of our future was discussed in the Legislative

Assembly. The debates that took place there, had less influence on public opinion than those of the Jacobin Club, where Robespierre began to rule. This ~~man~~ voted against the ~~man~~. Was ~~it~~ a forewarning that military glory would one day be fatal to him? Did he fear that the French would be beaten?—that foreigners would overthrow the Republic he wanted to raise up, and punish him for the crimes he ~~was~~ about to commit? However, in spite of his faction, ~~the~~ ~~man~~ resolved on. ~~It~~ was undoubtedly the wisest measure; for the enemy ~~was~~ resolved to begin, and France, ill prepared, would have lost all the advantages of the attack. The King gave the command of the army to generals who had taken part in the Revolution, such as Messrs. Lafayette, Luckner, Montesquiou, Biron, De Broglie, Custines, Kellerman, Beauharnais, &c.

~~But~~ the Jacobins, who already possessed a formidable power, had by far outrun the patriots of 1789. Their cherished government was the Republic, whilst the latter remained

true to the constitutional Monarchy. The action of the army was disgraceful. Our troops attempted an attack on the enemy at Mons, but were repulsed in such confusion, that if the uprightness of our generals had not been well known, the affair might have seemed concerted either with the Court or with the Jacobins. M. de Dillon, one of the commanders, was on his return assassinated by his soldiers, exasperated at the disgrace they had suffered. But in Paris the Jacobins threw all the blame on the King, and persuaded the people that it was impossible for the troops to gain a victory when commanded by generals appointed by him. In fact, the monarch, having no real power, was unable to transmit energy and discipline to the army. The generals themselves, placed in a most false position, and foreseeing political changes, no longer knew for whom they fought. The soil of France was undoubtedly to be protected; but it was necessary to know in favour of what government. All the generals were noblemen; they had wished for

freedom, but with a monarchy; and the principles of the Jacobins could not be very pleasing to them. The latter resolved to put an end to all uncertainty, by hastening the fall of the throne and the establishment of a republic.

I have already described how the National Guards, who were the King's real defenders, had been discouraged by the Court; they were afterwards intimidated by the faction of the Jacobins. The destruction of the throne, and the establishment of a republic, determined and proclaimed by furious men, whom torrents of blood were incapable of withholding, spread dismay among the respectable citizens of the metropolis. Had they been gifted with but a small portion of energy, had unity reigned among them, and had they themselves known how weak they were, the throne would have been preserved. But could obscure citizens be required to show that foresight in which men of the highest rank have been wanting? Could they be expected to stand for a sovereign who did not choose to defend him-

self? They in consequence kept aloof, the disaffected, delivered of that obstacle, had only the regiment of Swiss Guards to conquer. The King had preferred being protected by them, because he thought it easier to pay foreign troops than to gain the good-will of the French. The Jacobins found but little difficulty in exciting the people against the Swiss; and, thanks to their speeches and writings, the fury of the citizens equalled that of Spanish bulls at the sight of a red flag. "Why," said they, "do Swiss peasants act as guards to the King of the French? Why do those men, so foreign to our customs, manners, and language, place themselves between the people and their constitutional King? Are there no French soldiers? The National Guards have lost the confidence of the Court, who seek the protection of foreigners, and a time will come when foreigners will triumph over them. The Royal Family, the generals, the foreign powers, bound by a compact, the execution of which grows

every day more visible. There is treason every where, and if adequate [redacted] not soon taken, all France, but particularly Paris, will be delivered up to fire and sword. Not a [redacted] ment must be lost."

Sedition of this sort [redacted] circulated in a thousand pamphlets, and repeated in all the [redacted] blies of the mob with that vulgar energy [redacted] powerful [redacted] them. It afforded increased excitement to minds in which all ideas of order or submission [redacted] long since obliterated. The Jacobins began their operations; but they wished to begin by a trial, in the hope of gaining amidst the fury of a new riot what might perhaps not succeed in a regular attack. On the 20th of June, the whole faubourgs set themselves in motion, and [redacted] down to the Palace of the Tuileries, under the pretence of claiming from the King his assent to several decrees he had rejected. General Lafayette was no longer in Paris; the heads of the divisions commanded by turns the National Guards; but [redacted] of them had any influence.

The orders that ■■■■ given to the citizens to assemble at the palace were not executed, and the Royal Family had only to depend ■ its ■■■■ influence and that of the courtiers who did not show themselves. The rebels entered the palace, broke open the doors, and advanced to the apartments of the King, who came to meet them with noble spirit. The sight of the monarch, and the calmness of his manner, disconcerted those who marched foremost, and who ■■■■ probably the most desperate of the gang. That first moment saved the King and his family. The shouts and imprecations of the mob that followed were without effect. The opportunity ■■■■ lost for slaughter, and the rebels attempted in vain to regain their advantage. A sort of strange dialogue took place between the King and the leaders of the mob. The vanity of the latter was flattered, but the monarch could not avoid the humiliation of putting ■ the red cap. The roof rang with horrible cries and frightful abuse. The Queen, in particular, ■■■■ the object of ■■■■ terrible



threats, and she was present all the while. This time the King's condescension was not an act of weakness. His fate must be deplored, and the barbarous insult of the red cap must be considered in the same light as the crown of thorns placed on the head of the Christian lawgiver.\* That despicable triumph satisfied the Jacobins. They let the mob depart, firmly resolved, however, to take no more decided measures.

The 20th of June was a signal victory for the rebels; but did it cause the Court and the Royalists, who prided themselves in being so courageous and powerful, to open their eyes? If the King still entertained hopes, they could only be founded on the enemies of France. A pitiful resource! Ought he not to have felt that their triumph would be a sentence of death for him? When a great body of men, led by bold and able chiefs, have once placed outrage and violence between themselves and

\* *Legislateur du Chrétien*. The translator begs his reader's pardon of M. Lavallatte's impiety.

reconciliation, their success ■■■ only be ensured by crimes. One step alone, and the noblest, remained ■■ be taken by the King;—that was, abdication: he should have laid down all the ensigns of royalty, have left the Tuileries in broad daylight, on foot, surrounded by his family, and, after having disbanded his guards, put his life in the hands of the magistrates. That would have been a bold act; but the King had no comprehension of such a step.

I know that it is easy to reason on events after they are passed; but in this case the monarch's conduct was traced out by circumstances. He had ■■ more hope left;—no more friends whose devotion amounted to the sacrifice of their lives;—no ■■■■ power, for his enemies turned it against him. When disgraced ■■ the throne, it ■■■ high time to become' a private citizen. Such ■ noble step would have struck ■■■ in the minds of every ■■■ In the eyes of the people, he had been till then ■ every-day king; but that king, divesting himself of ■■ purple robes, stepping

down from ■■■ throne, and saying to the nation, "I have governed you during eighteen years with moderation; you deprive me of the necessary power to hold the reins of the state; you wish for ■ republic; establish one; I submit to your will. In giving up the throne, I only ■■■ for the lives of my wife and children. As for myself, I remain in your hands. You may subject me to insult and bodily suffering; but my soul belongs to God,—you can neither enfeeble nor debase it." I ■■■ much mistaken if such words addressed to the French people would not have deeply touched and perhaps reclaimed them. Instead of that, the unfortunate monarch wished to retain ■ sceptre already broken in his hands:—the result is but too well known.

Among the persons whom I met in society, my attachment to the royal ■■■■ particularly attracted the attention of the Marquis de Verdiere. ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ old man, of an ardent and chivalrous mind. His long services in India had raised him to the rank of a major-general.

He was not rich, and at the age of sixty-five he came to court dangers in defence of his King, with as much spirit as he formerly had sought them in battle for the sake of glory. That amiable old gentleman had conceived a particular friendship for me. I used to see him every day, especially in the interval between the 20th of June and the 10th of August. It was through him that I was enabled to form some idea of all the childish delusions with which the poor defenders of the King fed their fantastic hopes. They had suffered during three years all the insults of their enemies, and instead of fixing their eyes on the inevitable future, they triumphed when perchance some biting pamphlet, well seasoned with witty sarcasms, was published with some name. I frequently left the Marquis in the evening, hopeless and dejected, and the next morning he appeared full of the most extravagant hopes. Letters had been received from Coblenz, announcing the advance of three formidable armies, or one of the provinces had

risen up in arms, ■ some secret plot ■■ to burst like thunder and level the Jacobins with the dust. Even after the 20th of June he still dreamed of the most decided ■■■■■■■■ ■■ immense party ■■■ forming among the National Guards, under the protection of ■■■ Ministry, and the federation of the 14th of July ■■■ to give the signal of the King's triumph ■■■ his enemies. The long wished-for day ■■■ at last, and brought with it only fresh insults to the unfortunate monarch.

The inhabitants of Paris were ■ that time infatuated with ■ deputy of the Legislative Assembly, called Petion. He ■■■ ■ member for ■■■ of the departments of the late province of Picardy. I have in vain consulted my memory to discover in what ■■■■■ he became mayor of Paris. The publications of the time have recorded of him not ■■■ action, not ■■■ speech, capable of explaining ■■■ celebrity. It ■ however probable that his party found him possessed of some talent, ■ they would not have conferred ■■ him the highest magis-

tracy of the metropolis, ■ ■ period when that office gave ■ much influence ■■■ the Assembly to the ■■■ who enjoyed it. Petion ■■■ in the meridian of life ; he ■■■ ■ man of tall stature and dignified appearance ; his manners ■■■ polite, and his character bold, which latter quality was, I suppose, the circumstance that determined the choice of his party. Perhaps however that boldness ■■■ nothing more than ambition in ■ shallow mind ; for nothing resembles courage more than ignorance of danger. Petion ■■■ then the idol of the people. He succeeded M. Bailly, who, a little while beforehand, had exercised the greatest rigour of the law against the rebels who assembled in the Champ de Mars to proclaim the Republic. On their refusal to disperse, he hoisted the red flag as ■ signal that martial law was to be executed, and gave orders to ■■■ upon them. A mayor who, ■ the contrary, caressed the caprice of the mob, and who had devoted himself entirely to the republicans, could not ■■■ to excite considerable enthusiasm. On the

14th of July, Petion appeared ■ the head of all the most vulgar and turbulent part of the populace of Paris. Above ■ hundred thousand men ■ their hats, ■ *large characters*, the inscription : *Petion or death*. This ■ the watch-word of the day, and appeared like ■ fundamental maxim of the horrible anarchy that ■ about to exercise its fury.

The King ■ dragged to the ceremony with his family. There he heard once more, and not for the last time, expressions of hatred and rage. He took his station in the same palace, and at the ■ window, where two years before the better portion of the nation had ■ bled in his presence, to render him the homage of veneration and gratitude, which was then sincere. Undoubtedly at that time the illusion which ■ faithful people had impressed on the King's mind ■ removed, and this ■ and gloomy representation must have appeared to him ■ the consequence of the first, but how different in the eyes of those who observed with attention the succession of events!—

In 1790, ■ great people, inflamed by liberty, powerful by the consciousness of their strength and their rights, demanded sincerely ■ monarchy founded ■ law: the most affectionate concord seemed to reign between the people and the sovereign. The storms of July and October 1789, the agitations which had taken place in ■■■ of the provinces, had grieved all honest men, who detested them from the bottom of their hearts: love for the monarch, and an abhorrence of anarchy, seemed ■ sacred pledge that France would be no ■■■ troubled by it. In the month of July 1792, ■ the contrary, that nation, so generous, so united, had in a manner disappeared before a horde of barbarians. Feelings of hatred and revenge had succeeded nobler sentiments. The ■■■ monarch, but lately ■ beloved by the country, and his family, her most cherished hope, were disgraced by cruel insults, and dragged to the public squares like as to the place of execution. At the ceremony of the Federation, the King was forced to pass between two files of ruffians



uttering insult and threats of rage, on his way to the Champ de Mars to swear more that he would maintain a Constitution he had signed in spite of himself, and that had already disappeared under the rebels' feet.

M. de Lafayette, having received the account of the criminal attempt of the 20th of June, wanted to lead his army to Paris to protect the King against the Republicans; but he discovered that all feeling of love, and even of interest for the fate of the monarch, was extinguished in the hearts of his soldiers. A King seemed to be a thing superfluous, out of place, in the constitution. The army was in the enemy's presence; its chief desire was to wash off the disgrace of its first defeats, and to lay by victory the foundation of national independence. M. de Lafayette had the noble courage to attempt alone what he could not obtain of his army. He entered Paris, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, complained with energy of the insults the King had suffered, of the acknowledged plan of de-

stroying the Constitution, and of the anarchy with which France was threatened. This noble step, although supported by the minority of the Assembly, did not succeed, and Lafayette was at the point of being impeached. From thence he went to the Palace of the Tuileries, where he was received with coolness. Instead of appearing grateful for this act of fidelity, the prejudices of the Royal Family were so strong, that it is said the Queen declared she would prefer dying to being served by such an enemy. The general left Paris, sorely grieved for the fate of his King and country. He was soon followed by the emissaries of the municipality; and a few days after his return to the camp, he was obliged to fly to a foreign country for refuge; but, instead of finding refuge, he was, in violation of the laws of nations, made a prisoner in the dungeons of Austria.

## CHAPTER V.

Preparations for the 10th of August.—My Company repairs to the Tuileries.—The King retires to the Assembly.—Attack of the Palace.—Dissolution of the Legislative Assembly.—The Girondines.

THE enterprise of M. de Lafayette, notwithstanding its ill success, made the Jacobins sensible that they had not a moment to lose for the accomplishment of their plans. The Court was upon its guard: it was no longer possible to attempt assassination; an attack by open force was in consequence resolved and fixed for the 4th of August. But whether the conspirators were not yet ready, or whether that day had only been named to deceive the Court, the attack did not take place then. M. de Verdiere passed that day at the Palace, and returning in the evening he used to make me

share his fears without being able to inspire ■■■ with his hopes. He told ■■■ that emissaries were dispersed through ■■■ the suburbs, and ■■■ in the club of the Jacobins itself; that all their designs ■■■ known; that the National Guards were commanded by M. Mandar, a late officer of the Gardes Françaises; that ■■■ the first order he might give, twenty thousand citizens would rise in arms; that ■■■ the loyal nobility and citizens of Paris would go to the Palace; that the King would mount his horse; and that the day intended for his ruin would be his triumph. I did all I could to convince him that the National Guards would not march; that they had lost all confidence in their own power; that they ■■■ divided in their opinions, and, above all, discouraged; in ■■■ word, that they ■■■ afraid of the Jacobins. I observed, that M. Mandar ■■■ scarcely known, and inspired ■■■ confidence; that three ■■■ four battalions of gallant men would be insufficient to repulse the aggressors, who ■■■ the whole populace of Paris; ■■■ the Swiss Guards were

objects of horror, would be overpowered by irritated people; that it would therefore be wiser to make use of the protection of these troops, for the purpose of leaving Paris, and retiring towards Normandy, where a numerous body of cavalry might join the Court. I insisted chiefly on the necessity of leaving the Tuileries in the night. The Swiss being masters of the post and the turning bridge that communicated with the Place Louis XV. the first hours of the retreat would pass off tranquilly. But it was impossible to make Verdière listen to reason. He continually referred to the marks of courage and loyalty exhibited in petitions signed by two hundred and twenty thousand citizens, who every day, and on every occasion, openly declared their love for their King and their implacable hatred of the rebels. "These are only signs manual," I said; "the citizens will fly on the firing of the cannon. You do not know what it is to see the father lament and children cry. The good people will retire to their beds and weep."

I was unable to convince him, and he ■■■ ■ faithful echo of all those who surrounded the Royal Family. However, this noble old man behaved very gallantly; he escaped by ■ miracle the ■■■■■ at the Palace, went to Coblentz, ■■■■ having returned to Paris ■ short time afterwards, he perished on the ■■■■■.

The 10th of August was at last decidedly fixed upon by the conspirators. The battalion of St. Antoine, in which I served, ■■■ not decided to take any share in the day, although it ■■■ commanded by a staunch royalist; but my company of chasseurs ■■■ under the orders of ■ young architect named Bleve, a ■■■ of determined spirit, and one in whom we placed entire confidence. He sent us word ■ two o'clock in the morning. The greatest part of the company joined him, and ■■ four we ■■■ for the Tuileries. ■■ dismal sight presented itself ■■■ in the way. Numerous groupes of common people, armed with sabres, pikes, and pistols, crossed the Rue St. Antoine, going towards ■■■ suburb, and casting threatening looks,

as if they were surprised to see us march another way. Some of them abused us, others called their neighbours. The women were at the windows, and in the streets, embracing with their husbands and children. The gloomy energy of these men was depicted in their countenances and motions. As we advanced, the deepest silence reigned on the quays; daylight seemed to recoil before the sacrilegious spectacle of a city abandoned to all the horrors of civil war and crime.

We arrived in the court of the Tuileries a little before five o'clock. At that time the palace had not the imposing aspect which it renders it one of the most noble royal residences. The large court, separated in all its length from the square by an iron railing, was divided in three parts, each encumbered by houses and walls. Instead of the railing there were decayed buildings, occupied by tradespeople, and the grand entrance closed with a folding door. A short while after we had arrived in the middle court, a company of artillery of the

sections of the Blancs Montaux entered with two field pieces, crying *Vive le Roi!* The battalions of the Petits Pires and the Filles St. Thomas had preceded us, and were drawn up in line of battle in the court. We joined together, interchanging the most touching tokens of friendship for another, attachment to the King, and hatred of the rebels.

At five o'clock we learned that the King was going to review us. He appeared, accompanied by a few officers of his household and about twenty persons in plain dresses, armed with pistols and muskets. His cold tranquillity and apathy under such terrible circumstances produced a painful impression. He addressed to us, as he was passing by, a few words we did not hear, and returned to the palace. This made a dismal impression upon us, but it was quickly dissipated when the grenadiers of the battalion of the St. Thomas proposed to us to sign a proclamation in favour of the King, written by one of their officers. We went into a room on the ground-floor, which



who since served in antechamber for the home department of the council of state. The gallant author of the proclamation had been wounded a few days before by the Marseillais in the Champs Elysées, and had been carried to the Tuileries in a handbarrow. We had the pleasure of embracing him. I suspect he must have perished a few hours afterwards, and I am sorry I do not recollect his name.

The emissaries we sent to the Faubourg St. Antoine came every day and then to tell us that the enemy was setting out and would arrive. We were fully determined to repulse him. Nevertheless our unbounded devotedness to the royal cause could alone make us blind to the smallness of our numbers and our desperate situation. I can affirm that there were no more than three hundred men in the chief court, and none at all either in the Pavillon de Flore or in the Pavillon Marsan. The French occupied all the apartments of the palace, and, to crown the whole, the general in chief of our well-disposed army was M. de

Wittinghoff, ■ old man above sixty, who spoke barbarous French, knew nothing either of France ■ Paris, ■ rather lame, and ■ tainly had not the least idea of the enemies he ■ to oppose or the position he had to defend. In fact, if the Jacobins themselves had arranged the order of our defence, and chosen ■ general, they could not have done better for their own interest.

On the approach of the enemy, the King resolved to seek refuge in the Legislative Assembly. A grenadier of the National Guards informed ■ that he had carried the Prince Royal in his ■ on the terrace of the Feuillons, and described all the insults the Royal Family had endured from the populace, who already filled that part of the garden. A little while afterwards, M. Roederer, syndic or president of the directory of the department of the Seine, came to us, ■ desired us, ■ the name of the law, not to attack, but to repel force by force. This was, no doubt, very prudent ■ his part; but what were ■ to defend? Was it the palace

and its furniture? or not the King, by leaving his residence and going to the Assembly, seem to declare that he surrendered himself up to that assembly which now the sovereign authority, and whence to receive orders? The King's retreat, and the speech of M. Roederer, spread discouragement and confusion among the National Guards; the cannoneers of the battalion of Blancs Montaux threw down their matches, stamped upon them, and said there was nothing to be done, there being no king to defend.

During this scene, I was on duty at the gate of the court, facing a Swiss, an absolute machine, with whom it was impossible to exchange a word. But an aid-de-camp of General Wittinghoff passing me, I asked him what his general intended doing. He shrugged up his shoulders and said, "I do not think he knows himself; but I believe we are in an awkward situation. We have to fight the ~~Marseillais~~; I know the people of Provence; and if the plan is to spare them, we are lost."—He had scarcely

spoken, when howlings gave ■ notice of the enemy's approach, and the doors soon gave way to the repeated blows of the thick beams with which they struck them. All the guards that ■ in the court dispersed, and I followed gravely my Swiss companion, who, according to the orders he had received, returned ■ a slow pace to the palace, and we entered together the saloon of the guards.

The Swiss were ranged on the two sides of the great staircase, and in all the apartments facing the windows, three in depth. The offi- ■ ■ trying to stimulate them, but their faltering voices betrayed their consternation. I had expected to find National Guards in the palace. Surprised to see nothing but foreigners, I ■ uncertain as to the ■ I should act, when a Swiss officer, taking ■ by the arm, begged ■ to accompany him to the garden, where his company was stationed. My regimentals ■ ■ sort of protection. We went down together to the ■ landing-place, facing the door that leads ■ the old chamber of the

council of state. There ■■■ found the great staircase barred by ■ beam, and defended by several Swiss officers, who were politely disputing the way with about fifty men, whose dress made them look like robbers in ■ melodrama. They ■■■■ intoxicated, and their coarse accent betrayed their origin : they came from Marseilles. The officer repeatedly told them that the Royal Family ■■■■ gone to the Assembly, that there ■■■ nobody in the palace, and that the Swiss ■■■ received ■ positive order to defend its entrance. But ■■■■ ■■■ of no avail with them. "We will enter! ■■■ will examine all the apartments!" ■■■■ their only answer, mingled with cries of "Vive la Nation!" The soldiers, by command of the officers, ■■■■ turned in bad French the ■■■■ cries, and raised their hats on their bayonets. At last the conspirators succeeded. The barrier gave way ■■■■ their efforts; they forced their passage, ■■■■ ■■■ seized the opportunity to go down. We were still in the vestibule, when ■ well-directed ■■■■ began from ■■■■ apartments, and al-

most at the same instant the cannon was heard. I am convinced that the Swiss fired first; my memory has for a moment deceived me in respect to that circumstance. It is, however, useless to discuss the point; for it is certain that the conspirators were with a view to attack the King: if the Swiss began to fire, it must have been because the Court had hopes of gaining the victory. But in that case the Swiss ought to have gone down, rather to have marched against the enemy, and have attacked him in the streets before he had time to draw up his ranks in the square. It seems that the plan was to attack the enemy's flank, as the Swiss, posted in the court of Marsan, made a sortie, and even took two field-pieces; but they were repulsed. The first discharges from the palace had wounded a great many, and the principal court had been quickly evacuated: but the cannonade brought disorder and consternation into the ranks of the Swiss. They abandoned the windows; the enemy advanced with renewed courage, crossed the court,

and rushed into the apartments. The unfortunate Swiss were unable to defend themselves any longer. The most horrible massacre began, and terminated only when the last of them fell. They were pursued from chamber to chamber; the most obscure corner, the solitary cabinets, the chimneys into which some had crept, could not save them. They were thrown out of the windows, and their bodies were stript and exposed to the barbarous derision of the lowest class, those of the murdered Protestants after St. Bartholomew subjected to the indecent raileries of the ladies of the Court.

Two hours sufficed to exterminate twelve hundred warlike and well-disciplined soldiers commanded by brave and devoted officers. Three or four hundred noblemen stationed in the apartments that join the Pavilion de Flore, and who undoubtedly designed to attack the enemy's left flank, lost the good luck to escape through the gallery of the Louvre. They had been hoping for a triumph in the result of the battle.

A battle it really was, and ability well courage ensured the success of the revolution party. The in which the royal troops disposed, was, I mentioned above, quite contrary to . The throne and the existence of the Royal Family stake, and they were trusted to an old Courlander in the service of France, and to Swiss soldiers. In such a populous metropolis, where so many brave men might have come to assist the monarch, he left with only four hundred defenders. The King might at least have stimulated his troops by his presence and his courage; instead of which, he left them in the decisive moment to seek refuge among his most inveterate enemies. On the part of the conspirators the plan for the attack had been well combined; the vanguard was composed of Marseillais and enthusiasts, who feared no danger and looked upon death as a glorious martyrdom. The army was protected by fifty nons, well served, and determined chiefs. Among these principally distinguished an



Alsatian named Westermann, who acquired a great name in the war of the Vendée afterwards, and Ragowski, a Polish refugee, a well-informed man and tutor to the son of one of the first noblemen of France. Forced to leave his country, after having fought for his liberty, he had carried to his new home all the hatred he entertained for the treachery of his former reign. Louis XVI. appeared to him as guilty as Poniatowski, and he seemed on the 10th of August inspired with a wish to avenge the indifference which the cabinet of Versailles had shown to Poland at the time of her first misfortunes. He was killed at the head of the column he commanded.

Cannon balls fell on all sides in the garden of the Tuileries. I sought refuge in the Legislative Body. What a scene I witness there! The King and his family were crowded into a reporter's box near the President. The King remained motionless, and affected the air of an indifferent spectator; the Queen softly pressed her children to her bosom, and

from time to time to wipe away her [redacted] with her handkerchief. In [redacted] hall some persons showed marks of fear, while others took pains to disguise their fury and their satisfaction; all betrayed an agitation, an anxiety that did not allow them to remain in their places. The [redacted] continued, however, with an appearance of order, [redacted] subjects foreign to the terrible tragedy that [redacted] acting. Victory [redacted] [redacted] last announced by the conquerors themselves bearing into the hall the spoil of the palace, and proclaiming the massacre of the vanquished amidst furious cries of "The Nation for ever! Death to all traitors!" The King had been obliged, in the beginning of the contest, to sign an order forbidding the advance of the Swiss battalion [redacted] Courbevoye; and it is a circumstance worthy of remark, that the Court, being resolved to defend itself, did not call in that battalion during the night.

I [redacted] the melancholy [redacted] [redacted] went to [redacted] Marquis de Verdière. The unfortunate old man was not yet [redacted] home, but he soon arrived,

half dead with despair and fatigue. He had passed the night in the palace, and had escaped by a sort of miracle through one of the doors of the gallery of the Louvre. We embraced one another, and both of us shed tears. He was last convinced that no hope remained, and I pressed him to leave the country as quickly as possible. He wanted to take me with him, but I told him I was going to join the defenders of my country. "Your cause is no more mine," I said; "I am not born a nobleman; I have paid my debt to my sovereign, and my country claims me. I must defend her against foreigners who wish to divide her for their spoil, and I shall remain faithful to her." He had no more illusions to offer me; he yielded, and we separated to meet again. I learned since, that after having made a pilgrimage to the royalist army, where he was badly received, because he was too late, he returned to Paris, was denounced as a returned emigrant, and died on the scaffold.

The day after the 10th of August, the

the Royal Family was last decided. They had passed the night in the cells of the convent of the Feuillants, near the Hall of the Assembly. They stepped into a large coach, and were led in triumph to the tower of the Temple, along the Boulevard, and through the Place Vendôme, where the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. had already been thrown down. I wished to cast a last look on the unfortunate family before their imprisonment, and I forced my way into the mob while they were getting out of the coach. Among the number of persons that surrounded the carriage, I observed a horrible-looking man. Half his face was covered with a long and thick beard; he was dressed in a sort of smock frock, which soon after became the uniform of the Jacobins. Though his look was haggard and furious, he seemed embarrassed on observing the anxious curiosity of those that stood around him. I asked who he was. "It's Jourdan of Avignon," said the man. "Jourdan, Coupe-Tête." In fact, it must have been either the wretch who distin-

guished himself by the massacres of the Glaciere d'Avignon, ■ some one resembling him, placed there with ■ view to augment ■■ terror of the Royal family.

A few days after the 10th of August, the Legislative Assembly closed its session, and decreed that another Assembly should ■ in ■■ stead. The members of the Gironde party, who ■■■ contributed most to the ■■■ of the Throne, hastened to get themselves re-elected.

Among the members of that party, some have so many surviving friends, that they ought ■■ to be condemned rashly. Great praise ■ still ■■■■ on the uprightness of their intentions, their rigid honesty, their eminent talents, and their invincible courage. I am far from disputing these two last qualities; but what ■■■ the situation of France when they entered the Legislative Assembly, and what did they ■■ ■■ maintain the constitution which that assembly was appointed ■■ protect? Had it ■■■■ utterly impossible to support it? Was

King an invincible obstacle, the republic-  
 faction an enemy whose progress could  
 no longer be stopped? Was not a courageous  
 struggle in favour of constitutional monarchy  
 a sacred duty? Was it unanimous, firm, and  
 heroic resistance preferable to the pre-  
 sumption of wishing a reign on the ruins of  
 the throne and the constitution? I fear, his-  
 tory will condemn the Gironde party of having  
 been led away by the desire of shining ac-  
 tors; and it will probably be that the  
 greater part of them were more intent on keep-  
 ing up a successful war with the heroes of  
 the Constituent Assembly, than impelled by  
 the noble ambition of saving their country by  
 following a steady line of conduct.

The last twenty days of the month of August  
 were not lost for the revolutionary party. They  
 knew the maxim, that a victorious general must  
 not leave a moment's rest to his vanquished  
 enemy. As soon as they had shut up the Royal  
 Family in the Temple, and butchered all the  
 Swiss soldiers that remained in Paris and in

environs, they hastened to imprison all persons suspected of being attached to the King. Noblemen, clergymen, servants of the palace, men, and even children, who had the least connexion with the Court, were seized without any exception, and prisons were more numerous than playhouses. A misfortune roused to the highest pitch the rage of the Jacobins, and filled the public with consternation: a foreign enemy obtained alarming success, whilst the ridiculous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick announced to the city of Paris the terrible punishment that threatened her. The frontier towns of Longwy and Verdun had surrendered; and, by a shameful and criminal policy, the sovereigns who came to assist the unfortunate Louis XVI. placed their banners on the conquered cities, as a proof that they would restore them. The French nation, insulted in its independence, united its exertions to the fury of the Jacobins, and France was saved amidst a sea of blood.

## CHAPTER VI.

Approach of the enemy.—Taking of Verdun.—The 2nd and 3rd of September.—I leave Paris and enlist.—My hopes and disappointments.—Arrival of Colonel d'Hilliers.—He joins the army of the Rhine, whence he sends me a commission of Sub-Lieutenant.—Death of Louis XVI.

THE news of the surrender of Verdun, and the impossibility of stopping the advance of the enemy, reached Paris on the morning of the 4th of September; and by five o'clock some members of the municipality began to ride about the streets on horseback with flags in their hands, and crying, "To arms!—The enemy," they added, "approaches—you are all lost! The city will be a prey to fire and pillage! Take up your swords, join the armies, the infamous foreigners will be repulsed! You have



nothing to fear from the traitors and conspirators you leave behind; they are in the hands of the patriots, and national justice will strike them with the thunderbolts." These terrible words, repeated on all sides, spread general dismay. What was the meaning of the thunderbolt of justice? Alas! that expression was but too well explained: about two hours after, it was reported that the prisoners were to be executed! I ran to the hall of my section, where I found M. Dutillet. He took me aside, and said, "Within an hour the prisoners at the Hôtel de la Force will be butchered. I have an order from Tallien for the release of Madame de Tourzel and her daughter. Bleve, captain of the Chasseurs, accompanies me. We want a third person: will you go with me?" I accepted readily his proposal. It was agreed that Dutillet should enter the prison; that Bleve and he should take charge of the ladies; that I should accompany them, for the twofold purpose of engaging the attention of such as might stop them in a part of

the town where they were so well known, and to help to defend them in ■■■ they should ■■ attacked. We encountered ■■ difficulty in getting the ladies out of prison; ■■ passed along the Rue du Roi de Siècle, and boldly crossed the church of the Petit St. Antoine, where ■■■ Assembly ■■■ held. By good luck, night ■■■ beginning to protect us; ■■ ■■■ in no ■■■■ disturbed, and Madame de Tourzel found in the Rue St. Antoine her friends, who placed her in safety. When we returned to Dutillet's, we ■■■■ in the means of preventing the massacre of the prisoners of La Force. The consciousness of doing ■ good action augments one's courage. It was impossible ■■ think of beating the generale without an order from the Commander-in-chief; time pressed, and, besides, the commander was Santerre, one of the leaders of ■■■ Jacobins. We had no alternative but to run ■■ some of the ■■■■ Guards whom ■■ ■■■ upon as ■■■■ steady. I spoke to a great many ■■ them in ■■■ space of an hour and a half, and,

notwithstanding my most pressing entreaties, I could make no impression on them. Men in the prime of life and health, in whom I thought I had discovered a strong love of liberty, feelings of humanity, and respect for the laws, remained unmoved, while I pictured to them the slaughter they were going to witness. "What can we do?" was the answer of all those I saw. I could not excite them to a noble effort. Some did not believe the massacre; others said they could not march without order from their chiefs. Some even said to me—"The prisoners are conspirators who deserve no pity; our sons are going to the army; civil war will break out; we shall perish the victims of our humanity; it is said, besides, that there will be judges, and that the innocent will be spared." The exertions of my two companions were not crowned with more success than my own; we separated at nine o'clock. The storm was already raging in all its force. Being less known than my friends, I went to the prison. Before the

wicket that leads to the Rue des Ballets, I found about fifty men ■ most. These were the butchers; the rest had been drawn there by curiosity, and ■ perhaps more execrable than the executioners; for though they ■ neither go away, nor take part in the horrid deed, ■ they applauded. I looked forward, and ■ sight of ■ heap of bodies still palpitating with life, I uttered ■ cry of horror. Two men turned round, and, taking me abruptly by the collar, dragged ■ violently to the street, where they reproached me with imprudence; and then running away, left ■ alone in the dark. The horrible spectacle I had witnessed deprived me of all courage: I went home, overwhelmed with shame and despair for humanity ■ execrably injured, and the French character so deplorably disgraced.

The particulars of the ■ having all been recorded in the memoirs of the time, I need not repeat them here. I ■ moreover ■ spectator of them. They ■ three days, and, I blush while I write it, ■ half a mile

from different prisons, nobody would have imagined that their countrymen that moment butchered by hundreds. The shops were open, pleasure going on in all animation, and sloth rejoiced in its vacuity. All the vanities and seductions of luxury, voluptuousness, and dissipation, peaceably swayed their sceptre. They feigned an ignorance of cruelties which they wanted the courage to oppose. And still there existed an Assembly, the organ and supreme protectress of the laws, ministers entrusted with the executive power, paid guard and magistrates. The unfortunate prisoners that slaughtered had friends and relations, on whom they could not bestow a last look. They perished, after horrible agony, in the midst of the most cruel torments. Twelve hundred persons in those three days.

Still, much blood shed did not satisfy the rage of the September murderers! They were sensible that the slaughtering of twelve hundred persons would spread dismay and indignation in France and Europe. Victory was

therefore become doubly necessary. National pride and the bad policy of the enemy were of wonderful service to them. In less than ■ fortnight, ■■■■ than sixty thousand ■■■■ left Paris for the army. The youths of the departments, animated by the most generous patriotism, did not wait for the example of the metropolis, and in ■ short time the armies were augmented threefold. I did not dare ■ enlist in a battalion of volunteers, being noted ■ an enemy of the country,—that is to say, of the Jacobins. The ■■■■ indulgent blamed me: they said I ■■■■ hot-headed, heedless, and ■■■■ thrown myself through vanity into ■ party I ought ■ have detested. I had ■■■■■■ signed all the petitions in favour of the Court; and had been ■ the palace ■ the 10th of August: that ■■■■ ■■■■ than sufficient for a ■■■■■■ of death. Not knowing how to get away, I ■■■■ and consulted ■■■■ of my best friends, Bertrand, the same who ■■■■ since ■■■■ himself so honourably known by his talent and ■■■■ devotion to the Emperor, and who is ■ present

■ St. Helena. I had made his acquaintance ■ the office of the attorney, Dommanget, where he studied for the bar. ■ family had designed him ■ fill ■ judicial post in ■ provinces ; but since the suppression of the parliaments his studies ■ without aim. He acted more wisely than I had done. Instead of meddling in political quarrels, he applied himself during eighteen months in perfect retirement ■ the study of mathematics. Gifted with judgment and ■ tenacious character, he could not but succeed. He ■ just passed his examination, and having being received, he ■ going to Chalons to study engineering. To take me with him ■ not to be thought of ; but he advised ■ to enlist in ■ free corps, and gave me the address of Lieutenant-Colonel d'Hilliers, who ■ then organizing the Legion of the Alpa. Some of my friends ■ in the same situation ■ myself ; ■ went therefore together ■ that officer. There ■ five of us ; young, well educated, possessing some fortune, desirous to fight, but, above all, to leave Paris.

M. d'Hilliers received us very well; he gave us orders for our route, and next morning, the 7th of September, at five o'clock, we started on the road to Fontainebleau, with our knapsacks on our backs, military caps on our heads, and perfectly well disguised by a sort of sailor's dress called a Carmagnole.

I must beg leave to stop for a few moments before I enter the army. I feel a wish to cast a look behind me on my conduct during the latter years. My education had been rigid. The principles which it formed were excellent in all respects. Until I was twenty years old, all scenes of corruption had been carefully kept out of my sight. My parents, my tutors, all the persons who surrounded me, had shown me examples but those of the purest morality. At a period when the most important political questions were discussed, my educators preserved me from sharing the errors which were generally adopted. The ridiculous harangues of the section saved me from the wish of imitating them. To the



study of the works of Montesquieu I added those of Fenelon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Mably, but the authority of the first awed me. I should have imagined I had committed a bad action if, even in language, I had swerved from the discretion a young man must be inspired with by reading such works. I was therefore wise enough to await a maturer age before I manifested political opinions of any sort, and to consult for my conduct my conscience and my heart. These two guides kept me within the bounds of reason and modesty. The Revolution took me by surprise when I was twenty years old. I was born in too obscure a place to be acquainted with all the abuses which the Revolution was meant to correct. I think, however, I did my duty in embracing the Royal cause; and still, at this present moment, I recur with pleasure to the feelings I experienced. Nevertheless, since I grew acquainted with the emigrants, I have frequently asked myself what I had to do among those privileged persons who reckoned the common-

for nothing—I who was born a commoner? Whether, after victory, they would have shown any gratitude for having fought with them? and also, whether, in case a civil war had broken out, I should have done a good action in destroying the sacred cause of Liberty, and marching against my countrymen, and perhaps against my family? I did not wish for the Revolution which took place four years ago, to answer me of those questions against myself. But at that time I did not yet know all I have since learned by experience.

We arrived at Auxerre on the third day of our departure, delighted with having quitted Paris, but full of anxiety for the dear friends we had left there. The Revolution had also passed through that town, and had left behind it. The inhabitants were full of consternation, and deploring several young clergymen, sons of the most honourable citizens, that had been slaughtered. We lodged with the uncle of one of these victims, the corpse of whom had been lying for three days on

a dunghill, his parents not being suffered to bury him. We thought that we ought not to remain long in that city. We set off in due sequence for Autun, and we arrived next day at a village, not far from Vermanton, situated amidst woods, and the inhabitants of which got their livelihood by making wooden shoes. Two days before, a bishop and two of his grand vicars, who were escaping in a post-coach, had been arrested by them. The coach was searched, and some hundred louis-d'ors having been found in it, the peasants thought the best way to gain the property would be to kill the real owners. Their new profession being more lucrative than their former one, they resolved to continue it, and in consequence set themselves on the look-out after all travellers. Our sailors' dresses were not very promising, but we carried our heads high,—our manners seemed haughty; and so, a little hunch-backed man, an attorney of the village, guessed we might perhaps contribute to enrich them.—The inhabitants being resolved not to make

any more wooden shoes, applauded the hunchback's advice. We [redacted] brought to the municipality, whence the mob followed us. The attorney placed himself [redacted] a large table, and began reading with emphasis, and in a loud voice, all [redacted] passports: Louis Amedée Auguste d'Aubonne, André Louis Leclerc de [redacted] Ronde, [redacted] Chamans de Lavallette. Here the rascal added the *de*, that [redacted] not in my passport. On hearing these aristocratical names, a rumour began: all the eyes directed towards us were hostile, and the hunchback cried out that our knapsacks ought to be examined. The harvest would have been rich. I [redacted] the poorest of the set, and I had five-and-twenty louis in gold. We looked upon ourselves as lost, when D'Aubonne, whose stature was tall, jumped on the table and began to harangue the assembly. [redacted] was clever [redacted] making verses, and knew [redacted] his fingers' ends [redacted] whole slang dictionary. He began with a volley of abuse and imprecations that surprised the audience; but he soon [redacted] his style, and repeated the words—coun-

try—liberty—sovereignty of the people,—with so much vehemence ■■■ such a thundering voice, that the effect ■■■ prodigious. He ■■■ interrupted by unanimous applause. The giddy-headed young man did not stop there. He imperiously ordered Leclerc de la Ronde ■■ get upon the table. La Ronde was the cleverest mimic I ■■■ saw. He ■■■ thirty-five years old, of a grotesque shape, and as dark ■■ a Moor. His eyes ■■■ sunk in his head and covered with thick black eyebrows, and his nose and chin immeasurably long. D'Aubonne said to the Assembly : " You 'll ■■■ be able to judge whether ■■ not we are Republicans coming from Paris." And turning ■■ his companion, he said to him : " Answer ■■ the Republican catechism. What is God? What are the people? What is ■ King?" The other, with ■ contrite air, ■ nasal voice, and winding himself about like ■ harlequin, answered, " God ■ nature; the people ■■ the poor; ■ King is ■ lion,—a tiger,—an elephant—who ■■■ ■■ pieces, devours and crushes the

poor people to death." It was not possible to resist this. Astonishment, shouts, enthusiasm, ~~was~~ carried to the highest pitch. The orators ~~were~~ embraced, — hugged, — carried in triumph. The honour of lodging ~~us~~ grew a subject of dispute. We ~~were~~ forced ~~to~~ drink, and ~~we~~ ~~were~~ ~~made~~ as much ~~as~~ a loss how to get away from these brutal wretches, ~~our~~ ~~our~~ friends, as ~~we~~ had been to escape out of their hands while they ~~were~~ our enemies. Luckily, D'Aubonne again found means to draw us out of this scrape. ~~He~~ gravely observed, that we had ~~no~~ time to stop, and that ~~the~~ country claimed the tribute of our courage. They let ~~us~~ go at last. On the road my companions blamed me for having taken ~~my~~ share in the scene, and having maintained ~~an~~ air of gravity that might have become suspicious in ~~the~~ eyes of people who only sought a pretext to murder ~~us~~. I ~~had~~ nothing to answer to their observations. I ~~had~~ admired their presence of mind and their gaiety; but my humour ~~was~~ ~~not~~ accord with such tricks. Nature cannot be

forced. During the farce they acted, I recollected a fact I had read, I think in a work of the M. Lebœuf, on the History of France during the thirteenth century. A monk of Auxerre, or Dijon, intimated to the abbot of the Benedictines of Paris, who had expressed a wish to see him, that his country he could not leave and undertake a distant and so perilous journey. Alas! the end of the eighteenth century, the journey more perilous still!

From this haunt of robbers we went to Autun. One of us had letters of introduction to a member of the Legislative Assembly, who had not been distinguished in the Convention, and was afraid of showing himself at his usual abode. His family consisted of a respectable and clever wife and three charming daughters. Our stay with them might have endangered them; we therefore continued our journey. There, as well as every where else, terror was carried to a great height. Not a motion, not an attempt had been made to counteract the enterprises of

the factious. People remained silent, or left the place, for fear of exposing themselves. The most honest ~~men~~ denounced, the lower classes made every body tremble with their clamour, and became every where masters, through the misunderstanding and ~~want~~ of courage of those who, having property to save, ~~did~~ not blush to ~~fall~~ back before those who had nothing to lose.

We arrived ~~at~~ last, on the 19th of September, at Villefranche, ~~near~~ Lyons, where the legion of Montesquiou was in garrison. M. d'Hilliers had shown us a pattern of the regimentals, and had boasted to us of the discipline and good appearance of the regiment. We ~~were~~ to be received in the most flattering manner by the officers, all of them well-bred young men, and who would undoubtedly live as brothers with us. We formed to ourselves ~~many~~ delightful ideas of ~~our new situation~~ of living. As we got ~~nearer~~ to Villefranche, our excited imagination made us hasten ~~our~~ pace. We came to the side of a very extensive field, ~~at~~ the other end of which we saw some troops



manœuvring. My companions, either through some illusion, or indistinctness of vision, fell into rapture at the wonderfully good order of the troops. In fact, their muskets glittered in the rays of the sun, and their lines seemed to present admirable regularity. As for me, I saw nothing but strange dresses, rather the rags of misery; and the reader may judge of our consternation, when, approaching, we found four or five hundred wretches in tattered garments, and none but the officers dressed in the elegant regimentals which they had much admired. We were going away, and should perhaps have taken the dangerous resolution of deserting, when an officer came up to us, and asked me in a strong German accent, whether we had not the honour to belong to the corps. Without waiting for the answer of my companions, I showed my *feuille de route*. They were all obliged to do the same; and, as soon as the *documents* were finished, the officer placed me in the rear of the troop, and entered the city, marching like experienced

soldiers, but ashamed of being seen in such bad company by the fair ladies of Villefranche, who looked at us as we passed, and did not seem greatly to admire our appearance.

This still incomplete legion, whose existence, by the by, was neither long nor brilliant, consisted of the remainder of the regiment of Royal Liegeois that had been recruited for us wild freaks, and of young men who had enlisted for ten crowns each. They were all of them averse to discipline, and wished to fight for diversion; but the major, M. Ross, was a grave man. I have since met with a person who carried to so great a degree as he did his enthusiasm for the military catechism, and for all the minutiae of the service. He knew just French enough to command his troop, which consisted almost wholly of Flemings and Alsatians. After five-and-twenty years' service he had attained the rank of major; but still M. Ross was not satisfied. Since he could no longer maintain discipline by flogging, he complained that

mand fatigued him. I ~~had~~ become his friend because he had found me exact, attentive, and serious ~~in~~ my exercise. "My friend," he used to say ~~to~~ me, "there is always ~~discipline~~ to ~~an~~ army ; there is no ~~more~~ discipline, ~~more~~ more order, no more subordination ; woe to the regiment that leaves its garrison for the field of battle ! Oh ! if you ~~had~~ seen the camp ~~at~~ Verberie ~~at~~ St.Omer ; what a beautiful sight that was ! The tents all in straight lines ; the troops under arms at four o'clock in the morning, their dresses clean, admirable manœuvres, and in the evening ~~the~~ the calling over, nobody missing, every body ready ! Now I have to command nothing but tattered wretches ! What ~~can~~ I to do with these young ~~men~~, whom it is impossible to keep in order ? This will be ~~a~~ indeed ! Things will go ~~as~~ bad as they ~~can~~. But I ~~was~~ resolved to retire from service." Poor man, he did, in fact, retire the following year, ~~and~~ I hope he lived long enough both to wonder and rejoice ~~in~~ our victories.

I ~~was~~ ~~a~~ great ~~man~~ in the beginning. I

had lived in affluence in Paris in the midst of my family, by whom I was beloved, and in the society of agreeable friends. Now I was forced to live with soldiers: the serjeants vouchsafed to protect me, but the officers cast a look on me. I began to feel some disgust; but luckily, before it was too late, I made deep reflections on my situation, and I conceived it might be possible to raise myself out of it by giving myself up entirely to the duties I had to fulfil. When then I had passed my time in coffee-houses, or in reading novels. I left off that idle life: I studied the military law, and rigidly obeyed it in all its details; so that within six weeks I was made a corporal. My situation was growing better. I still obeyed every body, but I commanded a few.

M. d'Hilliers arrived. Our troop was completely equipped; and as that officer had served in the regiment of Alsace, he subjected me to such a severe and rigid discipline, that in less than two months we were legions could vie with the finest corps of the Northern army.

The duties prescribed for each moment, instead of discouraging me, made me fond of them. The [redacted] of a battalion gave me a desire to learn the elements of the [redacted] of war, and I read with eagerness several [redacted] works that had lately appeared, such as "La Guerre de Poste," by Cossac; "Les Fortifications de Campagne," by De Belair, and others. My colonel, who had taken a liking to me, gave me lessons in strategy and castrametation, and taught me to understand military maps. I [redacted] soon raised to the rank of serjeant, and my hopes knew no more bounds when, all on a sudden, General Custines summoned Colonel d'Hilliers to the Rhine army, instead of General Houchard, his first aid-de-camp, who had been appointed to the command of the Moselle army.

The departure of M. d'Hilliers was a thunderstroke for [redacted]. But he promised to transfer my companions and myself to the Rhine army, and he kept his word. A short time after his arrival at Mentz, we received commissions of

second-lieutenants in the 93rd regiment of infantry of the line.

It ■■■ ■■ Bourg I received the order to go to the Rhine, and just then arrived the news of the ■■■■■ and death of the King. Although the Jacobins ■■■■ masters of the town, and added, by their vociferations, consternation to the terror their threats and conduct had already inspired, still the fatal account caused a deep impression on the minds of the public. To form ■■■ just idea of that terrible sentence, we must consult ■■■ pamphlet published by M. de Chateaubriand in the beginning of 1815, wherein he explains with great sagacity the ■■■■■ motive that induced so many deputies to vote for the death of Louis XVI. The municipality of Paris ruled with all the energy of savage and desperate tyranny. That body insisted ■■ any rate on the ■■■■ of the King, ■■■ threatened openly to murder the whole Royal Family, who ■■■■ then in their sole power. Many deputies imagined that the only way to save the heir to the throne ■■■■ his

family, ■■■ ■ offer up the unfortunate King as ■ victim to popular fury. They ■■■ mistaken, but still deserving of pardon. On the other hand, if it be true that Louis XVI. signed the treaty of ■■■■; that he persuaded the privileged classes ■ leave France ■■ enlist under foreign banners; that he had agreed with his brothers and their party, that they should try to deliver him by means of a war that ■■ to expose his country to all the horrors of invasion, though he ■■■ sworn to maintain and execute the constitution:—if all this be true, I do not hesitate to say that he ■■■ guilty; he could reign ■ longer. But the Conventions had ■ right to try him, and by putting him ■ death they committed ■ most impolitic fault. Did they not ■■ that by taking the life of Louis XVI. they gave the crown to Louis XVIII.? that they ought to have kept the King prisoner, lest they should place ■ king in the hands of the enemy? that the life of a monarch ■ celebrated for weakness, and for ■■■ and contracted ideas, ought to have

been carefully protected, ■ he would ■ ■ late be succeeded by his brother, the qualities of whose mind ■ ■ so superior ■ those of the King, and whose character, already known, would have so deplorable ■ influence ■ the destiny of France? But the Convention ■ ■ pressed by passing events, inflamed by resentment, and by the contest of the 10th of August. It consisted in ■ great part of men without ■ ■ perience, who, seized with ■ fatal mania for celebrity, wished to impress the minds of the people with ■ sort of horror mixed with admiration, by ■ great act of injustice, which they called an ■ of national justice. They succeeded ; but the revenge of Europe fell heavily on France, and France, mighty through the fury of her government, subdued the armies of Europe. .



## CHAPTER VII.

I arrive ■ Worms.—Treachery of Dumouries.—Retreat of Custines.—He is recalled and sentenced.—Alexander Beauharnais succeeds him.—Pichegru.—Mission of St. Just.—Atrocities of Schneider.

NONE but young men can well feel the happiness of wearing an epaulette, and particularly those who rise from the ranks. It is ■ feeling of vanity, I own; but that vanity makes heroes. I ■ not destined to be one; but it is not my fault, for I ■ felt ■ greater degree of incitement. During the journey, I constantly reflected on the duties I should have to fulfil. My heart beat at the thoughts of my country; I ■ proud ■ the idea of shedding my blood for her. War then raged in all its force. At every place where ■ stopped to rest, I read the newspapers; I questioned my

landlords; and whenever I learned that the Rhine army had fought, I burned with impatience. It seemed to me as if I ~~ran~~ the risk of arriving too late. All the ideas that had tormented me in Paris ~~were~~ forgotten; the happiness of fighting for my country ~~had~~ absorbed them all. If I speak of these deep impressions, that every Frenchman shared, it ~~is~~ because ~~at~~ present they ~~are~~ considered ~~as~~ criminal.

In the holy week of the year 1793 I arrived at Worms, where the second battalion of my regiment ~~was~~ in garrison. I went to ~~see~~ my colonel, M. de Loriol. He ~~was~~ ~~a~~ old man, who bore in his countenance all the austerity of a former major, and all his vexation at being obliged to command plebeian officers. He received ~~me~~ very ill, assigned me a ~~company~~, and ~~saw~~ me away. I then went to my new captain. If the colonel's reception was haughty, that of the captain's ~~was~~ impertinent. ~~He~~ ~~had~~ served as serjeant in the King's regiment, the non-commissioned officers of which used to learn ~~a~~ ~~few~~ mathematics, to

distinguish them from their comrades of other corps. This poor man consequently looked upon himself as an officer of good standing. He spoke ill of his comrades and superiors; said a number of absurdities about war, which he did not understand; and would perhaps have succeeded in making me very unhappy in my situation, if I had not found a protector in M. de la Poterie, my lieutenant-colonel. This respectable gentleman invited me to come and see him frequently, and promised to advance me if I behaved well. He was killed a short time after, at the head of his battalion. His memory has always been dear to me, and I shall never forget the kindness he showed me.

The success of our armies began however to diminish. Our conquests had been rapid, but we were in danger of losing them again. Dumouriez, after having deceived both the Court and the Jacobins, wanted to draw the King out of the abyss, and crush his enemies. His presumption led him to hope that he should be luckier than M. Lafayette. But the army took

no interest in the King, being bound by ■ tie to his person ; and though the troops had ■ affection for a Provisional Government scarcely established, they still remained nobly faithful to their high duty of defending the territory, and insuring the independence of the country. Dumourier lost Belgium, and was obliged to seek refuge in foreign countries, after having committed two disgraceful acts ;—namely, treating with the enemy of his country, and delivering ■ the commissioners of the Convention, among whom was ■ of his own old comrades, General Bournonville. The army of the Rhine also was attacked by the enemy with renewed force. Frankfort ■ evacuated, and ■ retired to Mentz, and from thence farther back. General Custines left there, ■ commander-in-chief, General Doiré ; as commander of the Engineers, Colonel Meguier ; as commander of the fortified camp, Major-General Kleber ; and as commander of the fortress, M. Aubert Dubayet. Général Blou ■ ordered ■ leave the town at the

head of a body of some thousand men, and the garrison of Worms to his retreat. The command of the four battalions of that garrison was given to a young officer of the staff: this was Desaix, who subsequently distinguished himself by so many noble feats, and by his heroic character. General Blou, embarrassed in his retreat by an enormous quantity of equipages belonging to persons unconnected with the army, that had been sent out of the town, was unable to resist the imposing force of the enemy, and was obliged to re-enter the city. He and his troops contributed largely to the loss the enemy suffered during the siege.

General Custines might have taken a fine position behind the Queich, but he preferred retiring behind the lines of the Lauter, resting on the mountains of the Vosges, and near the Rhine at Lauterbourg. The intention of the general in choosing a position so far from Mentz, a place that could not long be left to itself, was undoubtedly to take leisure to instruct the discipline of young and inexperienced

army. But he ■■■■ blamed by many generals, and particularly by Coquebert, ■■■■ of his aides-de-camp, an officer of distinguished merit, and much esteemed by his commander, not only for his extended information in different branches of military science, but also for a frankness of character, which was perhaps not devoid of some asperity. Two days after the arrival of the head-quarters at Weissemburg, Coquebert ■■■■ to the general, and after having again brought to his mind the weighty ■■■■ that ought to have led him to prefer the position of the Queich, he said somewhat harshly, that evil reports had been the result of his contrary resolution, and that even the word treason had been pronounced. Custines immediately seized his pistols, and, throwing them on the table, cried, "If I ■■■■ a traitor, blow my brains out!" Coquebert, struck with the noble indignation of ■■■■ so unjustly aspersed, ■■■■ himself confounded, and the only ■■■■ he gave his general was, to discharge ■■■■ of the pistols ■■■■ in his ■■■■ face. He fell: his jaw-

bone ■■■ broken; but he did not die of his wound. At the trial of General Custines, Coquebert ■■■ called ■ ■ witness, in the hope that he would ■■■■ his charge; but he behaved like an honourable man, completely justifying his general, and accusing himself of ■ ■ of madness. He was subsequently taken prisoner ■ the battle of Hondchoote. I ■■■ him afterwards in Paris; but probably the sufferings he experienced during his captivity deranged his intellects, for he completely lost his senses, and died in a madhouse, notwithstanding the pains that were taken for several years to cure him.

The departure of General Houchard left the post of chief of the general staff of the army vacant. Custines bestowed it on Colonel d'Hilliers, who ■■■ made ■ major-general, and who chose me for his aide-de-camp. I occupied that post with ■ great deal of pleasure, because it was ■ advancement, and procured me means of instruction. The army was ■ that time not above forty thousand strong. The generals were well

chosen; most of them belonged to that part of the nobility which had given proofs of fidelity to their country, in defending it against foreigners, but for which they **■■■■** cruelly punished. Distrust of the nobility **■■■** growing stronger every day in the new government. Near the armies **■■■■** placed commissioners of the Convention, who shared the **■■■■** sentiments. The extent of power with which they were invested, prompted them to misuse it. The general-in-chief was forced to communicate and discuss with them, not only his plans, but even the particulars of the service. They **■■■■** the fountains of favour, and their influence soon became dangerous and fatal to the respect due to the general-in-chief. Several commanders bore impatiently the contumely with which these pro-consuls affected to treat things, and they frequently uttered offensive railleries against their persons.

The violent temper of General Custines made him repel with anger contradictions that **■■■■** rendered unbearable by ■ total absence of pro-



priety and military knowledge. His situation grew ■■■■ difficult from day to day. It became, however, necessary to act. The ■■■■■■ communication with Landau ■■■■ ceased to be militarily established. The siege of Mentz ■■■■ urged with vigour. Custines was ■■ this time made commander-in-chief of the Northern army, in the place of General Dampierre, who had been killed. He would not however leave the army of the Rhine without having drawn it out of the unfortunate position in which it then was; he attacked the enemy along his whole line, but without success. It was reported that his intention ■■■■ to get his army beaten by the corps of emigrants — an absurd calumny; ■■■■ scarcely saw that body on the 17th of May. The fact is, that the general who commanded the right of the army at Lauterbourg did not obey the orders he had received, ■■ executed them ill. The enemy, who, according to the plan of the general-in-chief, ■■■■ to have had his left wing turned, not being attacked on that side, found himself in full force before the centre of the army

commanded by Custines; a charge of cavalry was repulsed by a masked battery of two field-pieces, and in their flight the cavalry hurried along with them several battalions. I only mention this battle because it became one of the charges against the unfortunate Custines. He left us the following day for the Northern army, where the prejudice and calumny awaited him. He was soon after deprived of his command, and summoned to Paris, where he died on the scaffold. His condemnation was one of the first crimes of the sanguinary tribunal which afterwards committed so many. Custines was a lover of liberty, and never did a thought of treason enter his mind. The consolation of religion soothed his last moments; and such was the fanaticism of his time, that a man who had always shown himself full of intrepidity under the greatest trials, was accused of cowardice because he walked to the guillotine accompanied by a clergyman.

General Custines left his son with him in the Army of the Rhine. All who have known

that young man loved him for the noble qualities with which he was gifted. He accompanied his father to the Northern army, and afterwards to Paris, and he soon followed him to the scaffold. It is of little importance to know what pretence was employed to condemn this amiable youth; the judges had already begun to trample on the most sacred forms. His age, his profession, his manner of living, made him equally a stranger to all factions. He left an only son, who will, I hope, not betray the noble qualities of his father and the glory of his grandfather.

General Alexander de Beauharnais, who took the place of Custines, had also been a member of that Constituent Assembly, so replete with honourable names. He had neither the faults of his predecessor, nor his habit of command. The former was violent to an excess, and sometimes incapable of listening to the voice of reason; still, he was beloved by the soldiers for his frankness and popularity. M. de Beauharnais, on the contrary, had a cultivated mind and a calm temper; he was fond of order and

discipline; his activity ■■■■ boundless; his perception ■■■■ quick and accurate; his valour cool and brilliant. The army soon became fond of him. Modest, and ■■■■ a little circumspect, he showed ■■■■ in the presence of the troops; and ■■■■ he did not say much to them, he did not inspire them with the ■■■■ enthusiasm ■■■■ General Custines, who liked to make speeches, knew the ■■■■ of every private soldier, visited the men in the camp and hospitals, and whose blunt good-humour and repartees were quoted everywhere.

General d'Hilliers was also superseded and summoned to Paris, where he ■■■■ thrown into prison. ■■■■ successor as chief of the staff was Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, of Irish extraction, who ■■■■ years before had been attached to the Duke of Orleans. At the battle of the 17th May he commanded a troop of the 2nd regiment of cavalry. ■■■■ horse having been killed in a charge, and being unable to procure another, he took up ■■■■ musket and placed himself in the ranks of ■■■■ company of grenadiers. That

action was then considered as very courageous, and he was made a colonel. M. de Beauharnais took him for chief of his staff, and procured him the rank of major-general. M. Clarke added to a taste for his profession all the suppleness of a man who wishes to advance, and that sort of spirit of intrigue for which his countrymen were reputed. He left the army on the 18th of October, having been superseded and sent to Paris. That campaign was the only one in which he served. He died a marshal of France. I shall have more than one occasion to mention him; and although I have reason to be dissatisfied with him, I hope to do him justice.

M. de Beauharnais hastened his march to Mentz; and though the resistance of the enemy grew stronger from day to day, he succeeded in repelling him. After having fought for five days, we made ourselves masters of Spire and Frankenthal. Two days more and we should have arrived under the walls of Mentz, when accounts of the town having

capitulated were received at ■■■ head-quarters. We ■■■ forced to return behind the Lutter.

Courage and good intention ■■■ the only qualities of the garrison of Mentz ■ the beginning of the siege. The generals ■■■ intelligent and bold; but the attacks of the besiegers ■■■ so vigorous and repeated, that the besieged, soldiers ■ well ■ officers, acquired both experience and valour in ■ remarkable ■ degree, that they might afterwards be looked upon ■ the most formidable body the Republic ■■■ able to oppose to its enemies.

The Prussians, eager to make themselves masters of that barrier of the Rhine, and not caring what ■■■ the French government might make of these troops, ■■■ satisfied with stipulating that they should retire into the interior of the country, and not ■■■ against the Allies for the space of ■ year. This article of the capitulation saved the Republic, and cost the enemy dear. The garrison of Mentz, commanded by the intrepid general Kleber, flew to the western departments, defeated the Vendéans,

and when the year was expired re-appeared under the walls of Mentz.

Having returned to Weissemburg, we were obliged to prepare for the attacks of an army that had become formidable by his junction with the Prussian army, and was besides free in all his movements. But the commissioners of the Convention wanted first of all to abolish the distinction that still subsisted between the troops of the line and the battalions of national volunteers. That amalgamation was a difficult and dangerous operation at the moment of a decisive action. The generals explained their fears; but instead of being listened to, they became objects of suspicion; and, just at that instant, a decree of the Convention having ordered the dismissal of the officers who belonged to the nobility, the Army of the Rhine was thrown all of a sudden into a state of confusion, of which the enemy did not neglect to make use. The decree also concerned M. de Beauharnais: by disobeying, he would have placed himself in open defiance to Government.

The Commissioners however, proposed that he should wait for an individual order and the appointment of his successor ; but the Committee of Public Safety had already named the officer that ■■■ to command in his place. The choice had fallen ■■ General Delmas, ■ young man of great merit, but ■ yet too inexperienced for so important ■ command in such difficult circumstances : he ■■ besides at Landau, and that town being blockaded, his return to the army was impossible.

General Beaubarnais was deeply grieved ■ leaving the army : his noble spirit could not brook the thought of departing from the ■■■ of the glorious contest to which the voice of the country called all Frenchmen. In returning to the interior of the Republic, he ■■■■ was exposed ■ innumerable dangers. He had constantly supported the system of representative government ; and although he felt the necessity of defending a Republic born amidst storms, yet the system of the Jacobins and their cruelty inspired him with horror. All



the members of the Constituent Assembly were persecuted, and ■■■■ the purest and most prudent conduct ■■■■ far from ensuring him tranquillity in ■■ obscure retreat. I ■■■■ in his closet at the moment that he ■■■■ confiding his grief and regret to the bosom of his faithful friend Lahorie, who had been his secretary, and who was then one of the officers of his staff. This gentleman advised him to attack the enemy and seek an honourable death, rather than expose himself to all the outrages of his foes in the interior of France. The advice was ■■■■ courageous than wise. The general answered:—“ I must first of all consider the interest of the army and my country. I do not flatter myself ■■ to my future fate; but the death of ■■ many brave ■■■■ must not rest on my head, ■■■■ all the fatal consequences of a defeat. The army will perhaps be commanded by a ■■■■ fortunate chief; besides, the decree that supersedes ■■■■ is positive: even victory would be looked upon ■■ ■■ crime, and I ■■■■ ■■■■ possibility of gaining one at present: we have

scarcely thirty-five thousand men, in bad order ; and the enemy have eighty thousand : my death would be of no use ; I must go." The day after, he resigned his command and left the army, which remained without a commander in the presence of a formidable enemy, and the organization went on but slowly. Little attention was paid to that state of disorder. Forty thousand farmers arrived without arms or regimentals : they were undoubtedly well disposed ; but they had no experience, having never faced the enemy. The choice of a general-in-chief was a difficult one : the post was first offered to General Laudremont, who commanded the vanguard ; but he was a nobleman ; and though he had great merit, he was recalled a few days after his appointment. Thus it was necessary to seek somebody else, and Colonel Corbin did not fear to take the burden on his shoulders. Two days after his appointment, the commissioners of the Convention, to put him entirely in his ease, dismissed abruptly from the army thirteen generals, the chief of the staff,

the commander of the vanguard, generals of division, ~~the army was~~ spared. This foolish measure ~~was~~ adopted ~~on~~ the 12th of October 1793, and on the 13th, at four o'clock in the morning, the enemy attacked ~~us~~ on the whole length of ~~our~~ line, broke through ~~our~~ ranks, put ~~us~~ to the rout, and at eight o'clock ~~we~~ had lost the lines and were in full retreat towards Brompt in the greatest disorder. By good-luck, our forty thousand peasants ~~were~~ so active in their flight, they did not long embarrass our retreat; they had their houses and families to defend. The second day there ~~was~~ not ~~any~~ of them remained behind: nevertheless they afterwards became very excellent soldiers when they ~~were~~ recalled; but they had been rendered able to fight before they were placed in front of the enemy. The rear-guard was well enough commanded to ~~assist~~ our retreat: it fought courageously ~~on~~ the heights of Brompt during a whole day, ~~so~~ that the army had time to arrive ~~at~~ Haguenau; there the commissaries and the general-in-chief deliberated whether it would not be best

■ retire to Saverne ■■ leave Strasburg ■  
 defend itself; happily, before they came to ■  
 resolution, they thought it necessary to consult  
 M. de Villemanzy, commissary general of the  
 army. He declared that Strasburg having con-  
 stantly furnished the army with provisions ■■■  
 stores, its magazines ■■■ completely exhausted,  
 and that ■■■ time would necessarily elapse  
 before the town could be put in a state to sup-  
 port ■ siege; ■ that, if left to itself, it ■■■  
 ■■ be feared it would be obliged to capitulate.  
 M. de Villemanzy was taken prisoner at Hagne-  
 nau, where he had remained to keep ■■ eye on  
 the evacuation of the magazines: the general  
 opinion ■ the time was, that he had delivered  
 himself up. If that be true, I think he acted  
 wisely; he would undoubtedly have been ■■  
 rested on his arrival at Strasburg, and probably  
 have died ■■ the scaffold. He passed for an  
 enemy of the Republic. I can say nothing ■  
 ■ that: all I know is, that he ■■■ a well-bred,  
 agreeable man, and ■■■ his situation ■■■ ■  
 object of envy. Villemanzy's observations made

the council resolve to [redacted] the town; the head-quarters [redacted] established [redacted] Schiltikeim, [redacted] village [redacted] league from Strasburg. The army extended in [redacted] line of more than ten leagues, from the banks of the Rhine to Saverne, and until orders from Government could be received, [redacted] chief command was entrusted to General Michaud. This temporary choice [redacted] [redacted] a wise [redacted] General Michaud [redacted] [redacted] a prudent man, who felt the danger of his situation, and [redacted] his utmost to make [redacted] best of it, presenting to the enemy an appearance of strength that forced them to be cautious.

It [redacted] Wurmser who commanded the combined armies opposed to [redacted]. With [redacted] a little [redacted] resolution he might have beat [redacted] [redacted] again, and perhaps made himself master of Strasburg. [redacted] he reckoned [redacted] the friends he flattered himself he possessed in Alsatia. He was persuaded [redacted] [redacted] the [redacted] government of the Jacobins, and [redacted] own intrigues, would make the whole population of the province fly to him. He [redacted] mistaken. The Austrians [redacted] still more de-

tested than ~~the~~ the Jacobins, for the Alsatians ~~the~~ Frenchmen. While he ~~was~~ contriving low intrigues, the army ~~had~~ time to recover, and the ~~frontiers~~ frontiers were saved.

At last the arrival of a general-in-chief ~~was~~ announced; but ~~the~~ astonishment ~~was~~ great when ~~we~~ heard the name of Pichegru: he was completely unknown to the army. After many enquiries, we learned that he had had an obscure command in the department of the Upper Rhine; that he ~~had~~ served in the artillery ~~as~~ a non-commissioned officer; and that ~~he~~ had a little while before been chief clerk in the War-office. The name of Pichegru, which a short time after became famous in France and all ~~the~~ Europe, ~~was~~ mentioned with contempt by all the giddy-headed youths of the army. A few days were however sufficient to gain him the ~~respect~~ of every ~~man~~ ~~in~~ still on the staff, and was one of the first persons who saw him. He was about thirty-five, and of middling size. ~~His~~ eyes were fine, full of ~~power~~ and intelligence; ~~his~~ air was martial, and his deportment calm and

dignified in the highest degree. He began by restoring order in the army, and by rectifying as much as possible that which was faulty in its positions. He again inspired the troops with a consciousness of their strength, spoke to them of their duty without harshness, and promised them success without exaggeration. The winter was then in all its rigour; many were the obstacles to be surmounted, but they were the same for both armies. The Prussians and Austrians did not agree well together; their generals hated one another; and M. de Wurmsers appeared timid and irresolute. Our part was therefore to make use of the favourable chances those circumstances presented us, to attack and raise the blockade of Landau. We soon received reinforcements, and St. Just, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, arrived unexpectedly at the army. The conduct of that young man made us acquainted with the existence of a government most terrible from its energy, while we imagined we were swayed by a turbulent and stupid

bly. St. Just severely reprimanded his colleagues, and sent several of them away. He asked also an account of the [redacted] that had led to the loss of the lines of Weissemburg; he arrested several generals, and eight [redacted] superior officers. Among them [redacted] the poor noblemen who had not yet left the army. A sanguinary tribunal sentenced them, and they [redacted] shot in front of the ranks. This [redacted] an useless [redacted] of cruelty; for no treason had been committed, and the loss of the lines was much less owing to the generals, than to the bad [redacted] of the commissioners of the Convention; but St. Just had read that the Romans sometimes made use of cruel severity to re-establish discipline among their troops; and that man, who imagined he possessed the genius of Sylla, because he had his cruelty, thus made [redacted] prelude to the scenes of murder which [redacted] few months after he extended all [redacted] France. He probably thought he had made [redacted] just compensation by threatening the president of the atrocious tribunal he [redacted] employed. This [redacted] was [redacted] wretched foreign priest,



called Schneider, who gloried in his assumed title of the Marshal of the Rhine. For several months he had acted as president of the tribunal general of the revolutionary army, and terrified Alsatia with his cruelty and debauchery. He used to travel through the province, followed by judges who were no better than robbers, and by soldiers, who were his executioners. A guillotine drawn by horses, like a field-piece, accompanied him every where; and when he arrived in any town, not one of the inhabitants could count on escaping. Sex, age, beauty, respectability, fortune,—nothing was sacred in the eyes of this wretch. Of all the ferocious men that made themselves famous during this period, Schneider perhaps bore the greatest resemblance to Nero. The sight of death and blood gave him a sensation of unspeakable delight. The examples of this monster of cruelty have in them a quality of originality that makes one shudder; and one would wish to doubt their truth, if the testimony of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants

and the evidence of facts were not certain proofs of their existence. St. Just ■■■ ■■■ monster arrested and sent to Paris. There ■■■ ■■■ condemned, not for the crimes he had really committed, but for prior conspiracies that ■■■■ existed; ■■ far ■■■ justice reviled in those deplorable times.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Opening of the Campaign of 1794.—Our victories.—The Legion of Condé.—Junction of the Armies of the Moselle and the Moselle.—Discussions.—The two Generals separated.—I return to Paris with General d'Hilliers.—Observations on the Army of the Rhine.

THE campaign opened in the month of December. The right wing of the army commanded by General St. Cyr, and the left by General Desaix. General Hoche, who was the head of the Army of the Moselle, conducted our movements by vigorous and perpetually renewed attacks. Brilliant though dearly bought brought brought heights of Brompt; they caused us both to love and respect our new general-in-chief.

It was Brompt that we had a cavalry engagement with the corps of Condé, in which

the point of taking prisoners a part of that corps, with the three Princes who commanded it. The Duke of Bourbon wounded, but he escaped by the devotion of the brave men that surrounded him, and by one of those chances the influence of which strongly modifies events. An officer of the 39th regiment of dragoons, called Dieudonné, had distinguished himself by valour on those heights of Brompt during retreat. The commissioners of the Convention sent him to Paris to present two standards he had taken. He received with marked distinction by the Assembly, and he returned to the army a month afterwards with the rank of general of brigade. In the battle which might have been so fatal to the Bourbon Princes, Dieudonné commanded two regiments. That too much for his experience. He did not know how to develop them in due time, and the Princes were saved. His conduct was considered a crime: he was arrested and sent to Paris as a traitor; he was on the scaffold.

The battle of Brompt gave ■■ ■■ superiority ■■■ the enemy, which we did not afterwards ■■■ General Hoche continued advancing on ■■■ right of the enemy. He succeeded in turning his position near Pirmasens; and ■■ few days after, while debouching from behind the mountains, the two French armies ■■■ near Weissemburg. The enemy, discouraged, began to retreat, and Landau ■■■ delivered. Pichegru's fame ■■■ from that ■■■ ment firmly established. ■■■ also displayed his character in ■■ trait I must not omit. General Dessaix ■■■ of noble extraction; but the decree that excluded all noblemen had ■■■ yet been applied to him. The commissioners of the Convention hesitated to deprive the army of an able, valiant, and beloved officer. The Committee of Public Safety, nevertheless, ■■■ three times to Pichegru orders to dismiss him; but he did not obey them, and even took care ■■■ ■■ mention the fact to any one. It was not till the campaign was over ■■■ Dessaix learned it. Thus, by ■■■ generous disobedience,

he saved a general who, during ten years, shed lustre on the armies of France, whose noble character may be offered as a model to all soldiers.

The junction of the two armies, after such great successes, was a beautiful sight. The generals congratulated one another on their mutual exertions; but discord soon created between them dissensions more dangerous than even the enemy had proved. Each pretended to the greatest share of the glory, and wounded vanity would perhaps have soiled the field of victory with blood, had not government checked the misunderstanding by separating the commanders. Pichegru was sent to the Northern army, and Hoche to that which was assembled at Nice. Hoche had scarcely arrived there when he was arrested, and shut up in the dungeon of the Conciergerie, where he remained until after the 9th of Thermidor. Thus the Committee of Public Safety made him appropriate his glory, and humbled his proud character.

The Army of the Rhine pursued its successes during the remainder of the year 1794. Our position on the Queich was such that the Austrians had repassed the Rhine. We had some other brilliant actions with the Prussians; and I remember that at the close of one of them [the] [the] proved entirely to our advantage, in the environs of Germersheim, we saw the words chalked on the doors of a village we had taken, —“ Adieu ! brave Frenchmen !” A short time after, the treaty of [the] was signed, and established friendship between two nations which already esteemed one another. The common hatred awoke again in a recent period, and a long time will be required to suppress it.

In the month of October the army established itself before Mentz, to keep the enemy in awe, and prevent him from advancing on that point. The soldiers constructed huts underground in a very ingenious manner. Protected by field fortifications that covered [the] [the] of camp, they passed there [the] of [the]

longest and severest winters recorded. The result aimed at in taking that position obtained, at least, during six months; but it was too dearly bought. In the month of January, one-half of the army lay sick in the hospitals. In June the enemy again began his operations, and, as we might have foreseen, he crossed the Rhine behind us, turned our position, and obliged us to fall back on the Lutter. General Moreau came to take the command of the Army of the Rhine. The history of that campaign is known; I therefore enter into no particulars concerning it. I left the army a little while before its retreat. General d'Hilliers had just got out of prison, and had been appointed chief of the staff of the first military division in Paris. He proposed to me to return and resume my duty as his aide-de-camp. I was happy in the army, but I wished to see my family more; so I set off.

Before I leave the Army of the Rhine, to which I shall not again allude, I must beg permission to take leave of it with a few lines.



The army was by no means the first, either by its consequence or its exploits. Its duty was to protect Alsatia and defend that part of the Palatinate it had conquered. It succeeded by battles strongly disputed, but in the issue always favourable; and it was of great service to France, for the enemy coveted that part of its frontiers that he would perhaps have restored. Lorraine is the cradle of the Imperial house, and the Germans look upon Alsatia as a part of the empire, which it is much to their advantage as their honour to unite again to the mother country;—there prevail the same language, the same customs, the same religion, and, above all, the strong wish of weakening France, and enabling themselves to attack her in the very heart. The plan is not yet given up.

The Army of the Rhine shared in that period with our other armies the advantage of being commanded by generals and officers, almost all of whom had risen from its own ranks and were instructed among them. At the end of the most difficult must have placed Kleber, Desaix,

and **Cyr.** Kleber was born **at** Strasburg: he had served before the Revolution in the Austrian army, and he came to ours as commander of **a** battalion of volunteers of the Upper Rhine. **His** stature was strong **and** gigantic, and called to mind the heroes of Homer. **His** voice **was** sonorous and imperious; his spirit **was** and warmed **at** the sight of danger; though learned in all the branches of military science, he **was** not gifted with that boldness of execution that distinguished other generals: but he possessed the prudence which long **experience** gives, joined to the resources derived from **an** imperturbable coolness and rapid perception. Of all our generals, Kleber **is** perhaps the one of whom the soldiers retain the most flattering recollection, for he loved them **as** if they had been his children, **and** continually thinking of their comforts, and diverted them in the midst of their perils by quaint sayings, which **were** rendered **more** piquant by the harsh **sound** of **his** mother tongue.

Dessix, who **was** born in Auvergne, had

served for several years as an officer in the regiment of Brittany. His stature was tall, and his figure singular. He had the most fiery eyes, and a scar that seemed to descend from the top of the forehead; his thick and usually separated lips showed a set of teeth of sparkling whiteness; his hair, flat and black as jet, shaded his dark face. His gait was embarrassed, but still without awkwardness, and betrayed bashfulness and want of knowledge of the world. Altogether, he resembled a savage of the banks of the Oroonoko dressed in French clothes. But one man got accustomed to him. His voice was soft, and, when once drawn out of his usual reserve, he delighted by the variety of his information and the simplicity of his manners. He had none of the faults of men accustomed to camp life: I never heard him utter a vulgar expression,—an indecent word made him blush. As he was constantly easy and kind, he still led a merry life, and the pretty girls of the Palatinate used frequently to visit his head-quarters. He smiled

our pleasures without sharing them, with the indulgence of a father who shuts his eyes to children's wild tricks. I do not think I saw him dressed in the uniform of rank : he usually wore a blue coat without any lace, and the sleeves of which were short, that was used to say in jest, he had certainly worn it when he first took the Sacrament. He frequently mounted his horse without a sword when he went to visit the posts. One night, having ordered an attack on the convent of Marienborn, near Mentz, which the enemy occupied in force, he suddenly found himself without arms in the midst of a surprised body of infantry which was defending itself with the bayonet amongst the vines. Desaix, perceiving he had forgot his sword, pulled a vine prop out of the ground, and continued fighting as if he had Orlando's sword in his hand. Savary, who was then his aide-de-camp, threw himself before him, just in time to save his life, and killed a Hungarian grenadier who was about to pierce him with his bayonet.

I must not forget General St. Cyr, though still alive and in the enjoyment of power;—but this work ■ not meant to appear till after my death. He entered the army as captain of ■ free corps raised in Paris during the terrible month of September 1792. This troop, which consisted of Parisian vagabonds, (I need not say any more,) boasted on the road that they ■ going to teach the army the right step, meaning that they would make it republican; for, to say the truth, ■ were neither robbers nor braggers. However, they committed such terrible outrages, that General Custines ordered his cavalry to surround and disarm them, after which they ■ disbanded. St. Cyr remained in consequence unemployed. He had in his early youth visited as an artist Italy and Greece, and he had ■ great facility for drawing. One day he ■ busy ■ Mentz sketching the positions of Oekheim, when General Custines, whose glance was piercing, observing him ■ a distance, darted towards him with all the swiftness his horse was capable of. See-

ing him dressed in a uniform he detested, he asked him angrily what he was doing, and took the paper out of his hands. Finding, however, that the positions were taken accurately, he asked him some questions, appeared satisfied with his answers, and appointed him officer of the staff. A few months afterwards, and shortly before our disaster at Weissebourg, chance was still so serviceable to him. We had been repulsed in the pass of Annweiler; the commissioners of the Convention, seeing treason every where, knew not to whom they ought to entrust the command of the troops: St. Cyr was crossing the street under the windows of the head-quarters; an officer pointed to him as a man in whom the greatest confidence might be placed. He was called up-stairs, and after a few questions, the commissioners proposed to him to march off with two thousand men and attack the enemy. His surname Gouvion, however, made them frown; the same had been that of a friend of M. de Lafayette, a former major-general of the National Guards

of Paris. Though the latter **had** been killed in the army, **his** relations **were** not the less persecuted for that. St. Cyr beat the enemy, made **more** hundred prisoners, and retook the positions. Three months later he **was** a general of division. He constantly commanded the centre of the army, and **was** called its shield. Next to these celebrated generals shone a great number of young men, who have all acquired lasting glory,—Sainte Suzanne, Guyot, Boursier, Bellavesne, Ferino, Haxo, Dode, Nempde, Clemencel, Fririon, D'Astrel, and the unfortunate Laborie! **He** praiseworthy for his constancy of spirit, which ten years' adversity **was** un-**able** to shake, and who received death with a smile. And you also, my old chiefs, my dear friends! why cannot **I** surround your **deeds** with all the splendour of your noble deeds? You greatly contributed to **the** France! Could you expect that your services would one day be rewarded by forgetfulness and persecution?

With such chiefs, and friends of the soldiers, most of whom **he** commanded **as** private offi-

discipline exact, but gentle. They all loved their profession, and were well acquainted with it. Mean jealousy, hatred, and backbiting, unknown. The oldest of these generals scarcely thirty, and the Revolution having found them in a middling condition, and at a time of life when luxury and corruption have not yet gained empire over the mind, they had no wish but for glory, and glory itself pleased them only when surrounded by perils. I have frequently heard doubts raised as to the skill of our generals, notwithstanding the constant by which their fame has been established. It has been declared impossible to learn so quickly and so well the most difficult of all sciences, and that which more than any other requires a number of different branches of knowledge, which only be acquired by a great of time, particularly where the peculiar education is wanting, as the with most of the Republican generals. It is sufficiently known quality necessary to attain dis-



tion in the military ~~is~~ is strength of mind. That gift of nature, which is ~~is~~ little esteemed, and of so little ~~is~~ in ordinary life, ~~is~~ however ~~is~~ important, that it might have saved France ~~a~~ few years ago, if those who ~~at~~ that time influenced her fate had been possessed of it. It is quite indispensable in the military profession. Nature alone can give it: and she did give it to all our celebrated generals. In the second place, it is not true that their education had been neglected; for, to speak only of those of the first period of the war, Pichegru, Bernadotte, Jourdan, Moreau, Kleber, Desaix, St. Cyr, and Hoche, (the latter ~~was~~ bred at the school of the sons of ~~the~~ *gardes Françaises*,) had all studied the military art. The education of most of them had been as well attended to ~~as~~ that of the nobility. It must also be considered, that in other professions the most ambitious student ~~is~~ scarcely devote more than twelve hours a-day to his studies, and is frequently interrupted; whereas, in the army, every instant is given up to mili-

tary knowledge. A passion for glory, ambition, the pleasure of command, freedom from the duties of the world,—all induce soldiers to talk and think unceasingly of their profession. The variety of events, their rapidity, their number, hourly correct the wrong judgment of young officers, enrich their memory, multiply the examples they may want, and complete their improvement. Their mistakes appear in open daylight; they are quickly punished; and as the blow strikes not only the guilty, but also those who are placed below him, each individual is in every respect answerable for his neighbour, and all have the greatest interest in acting well.

The composition of the troops, as well as their valour, contributed also to their successes. The love of their country and the hatred of a foreign yoke had animated them even under the paternal roof since the year 1789. At the first call, the citizens flew to the frontiers; a great number of well-educated young men, whom the passion for glory and ambition had

assembled under the banners of the army, were like a nursery of excellent officers. The like Marseillaise hymn filled every breast with such deep emotion and enthusiasm, that its sound was sufficient to make the troops rush on the enemy with irresistible impetuosity. At Gaisberg, near Weissembourg, the enemy had crowned the plateau with thirty cannons, which dealt death and devastation into our ranks. The troops advanced nevertheless with a slow step: when they arrived at the foot of the frontier, the warlike song was heard, and at the instant the soldiers, as if they had been borne up by a whirlwind, overcame every difficulty. The position was taken, the enemy was in our power, and the enemy put to flight.

The perils and sufferings our troops endured at that period were the more deserving of admiration, because they had no other compensation than the love of their country and their ambition. The most simple enjoyments were unknown to us. We were all of us poor.

The soldier received no more than an écu per month in money ; and the officers, of all ranks, only eight francs. Our salaries were paid us in assignats, which were already depreciated in France, and of no value at all in foreign countries. During the winter of 1794, I shared with some of my comrades a peasant's house in the village of Fintheim near Mentz : we had only one bed amongst us, and every week we drew lots who was to sleep in it ; the rest lay upon straw. Our assignats were barely sufficient to procure us a little bad wine three times a month : we knew that our landlord possessed a considerable quantity, but none of us cherished the idea of forcing him to give it us for nothing. My companions were all young officers of engineers. Three of them, Haxo, Dode, and Nempde, became celebrated generals in that corps,—the rest were killed.

I beg pardon for having dwelt so long on this subject. To the Army of the Rhine I owe those qualities which have embellished my

life, and the strength of mind that decided my fate. When I entered it, I was full of enthusiasm, but my ideas on military subjects were confused, and I wanted experience. I had not yet seen an enemy, and I was very anxious to know what figure I should cut in the first battle. My ardent courage did not leave me full liberty for reflection ; but I was lucky enough to be attached to the division of General Dessaix. The easy and immoveable calmness, the soft cheerfulness of that excellent officer in the midst of the most murderous fire, made me sensible that there exists real valour without those qualities. I reflected seriously, and was discontented with myself. I did not know how to manage my horse when in the direction of the balls ; I crossed too rapidly the field of action ; and I frequently went a round-about way, when I could have rode straight before me. I blushed at such foolish conduct, and schooled myself so well, that I shot and lost all power of embarrassing me. It required time before I arrived

at that degree of self-possession. How often I not back place myself purposely in the middle of the fire ! How satisfied I when I had remained long in such a situation ! That moral strength did not contribute considerably to my advancement, but it made me worthy of being the aide-de-camp of the Conqueror of Italy, and gained his esteem : it also made me bear prosperity with moderation, and a strong support to me in the days of misfortune.

## CHAPTER IX.

Paris in August 1794. — Constitution of the III Year. —  
 Revolt of the Sections, — Bonaparte. — The 13th Vendémiaire.

I ARRIVED in Paris towards the middle of August. When I ~~left~~ that city in 1792, the people, freed from the wholesome restraint of the laws, intoxicated with fury, and elated with their abominable triumphs, were madly enjoying a savage licentiousness, and, ~~soon~~ threatening, ever oppressive, set ~~new~~ bounds to their tyranny. What a change ~~did~~ I not find after the short space of three years! Scarcity was terrible, misery at the highest pitch, and the dethroned sovereign scarcely dared to ~~plain~~. The people were no better than a vile rabble, devoid of energy, shrinking under the

rod that chastised them, but having not even the thought of resistance. In the morning, the city presented a deplorable spectacle: thousands of men and children were sitting on the stones before the doors of the bakers' shops, waiting their turn for receiving a dearly bought bit of bread. More than one-half of Paris lived on potatoes. Paper money without value, and bullion without circulation: this lasted nearly a year. A still stranger sight struck the observer's eyes. The unfortunate prisoners had recovered their liberty, and having escaped almost certain death, they enjoyed their good luck with a sort of ecstasy. The dangers to which they had been so long exposed excited a lively interest in their favour; but vanity, so ingenious in France, discovered the means of turning their situation to advantage. Each person pretended to have suffered more than his neighbour; and as it was the fashion to have been persecuted, a great many people who had remained safe in their hiding-places, or had bought their security by base conces-



sions, boasted of having languished in prison. An immense number of innocent persons had, in fact, perished on the scaffold; but if credit could have been given to the accounts propagated by hatred and vanity, one might have thought that one-half of Paris had imprisoned or butchered the other half. Confusion was at this period at its highest pitch in society: all distinctions of rank had disappeared; wealth had changed possessors; and it was still dangerous to boast of birth, and to recall the memory of former gentility, the possessors of newly-acquired wealth led the ton, and added the absurdities of a vulgar education to those of patronage devoid of dignity. The class of artists, more commendable, acquired consideration through the general thirst for amusement, and through the necessity many persons were in of seeking a livelihood in the art of imagination. This passion for the fine arts, universally diffused, caused in the fashions, and in the morals of the metropolis, an inconceivable licentiousness: the young men

dressed their hair ■ *victimes*—that ■ to say, raised up at the back of the neck as if they ■ going to suffer on the scaffold. The ■ men, on the contrary, imitated in their dresses the costume of Ancient Greece. It ■ scarcely credible to those who have not ■ it, that young females, well-bred, and distinguished by their birth, should have ■ tight skin-coloured pantaloons, sandals on their feet, and transparent gauze dresses, while their bosoms were exposed, and their arms bare up to their shoulders; and that when they appeared thus in public places, instead of making modesty blush, they became objects of universal admiration and applause. The palaces and private gardens were changed into scenes of riotous pleasure, called Elysium, Paphos, Tivoli, Idalia, &c., where crowds of people, boisterous diversions, bad manners, and an utter contempt for decency, created both shame and disgust.

Between the two extremes of the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. ■ and the Chaussée d'Antin, ■ still ■ met with the esti-

mable citizens, and those ■■■■■ well-informed men, friends to their country and to freedom, whose indignation, hitherto suppressed by terror, blazed up with an energy that ■ last brought on the catastrophe of the 18th of Vendemiaire. To unfold the ■■■■ of that catastrophe, it is necessary to ■■■ a look ■ the government of the Conventional Assembly.

That Assembly had been loaded with ■■ enormous burthen. The King had been precipitated from his throne, and the monarchy ■■■isted no longer. The Republic had been established without consulting the people ; and the King had been put to death because his ■■■istence ■■■■ troublesome to the Assembly. The members soon became few, and they ■■■■ composed of elements too hostile to ■■■■ another to be able to direct ■■■■ securely and ■■■pidly ; they enacted therefore among themselves ■ government called the Committee of Public Safety, that was to superintend the general administration of the country, ■■■■ direct the exertions of France against her fo-

reign enemies. They instituted also a Committee of General Safety, that to suppress attacks of interior foes. The of the Vendéans and of the allied armies carried these two committees beyond all reasonable ideas, and made the Convention feel that it must conquer or die. Defence maintained with the force and energy that personal safety and revenge can inspire. The excellent direction given to the armies, which they followed with admirable courage, preserved France from a foreign yoke; but the progress of civil war, and the secret exertions of the royalists, could scarcely justify the massacres and the horrible tyranny under which the country groaned for so long a period. The rulers of the Assembly will remain for ever loaded with the odium which their barbarous government (of which history does not present another instance) will excite among future generations. Of all the lessons given by the history of human passions, there is especially which the moralist must learn with force—I mean,

the impossibility, which the honourable men will ever experience, of stopping, if once their passions draw them into the path of error. Surely, if a few years before many crimes were committed, they could have been pictured before the eyes of the most barbarous among their perpetrators, I fear not to say that all, Robespierre himself, would have recoiled with horror. Men begin by caressing theories, heated imagination presents them as useful and easy of execution; they toil, they advance consciously from errors to faults, and from faults to crimes, the contaminated mind corrupts sensibility, and adorns by the policy of the most horrible outrages.

It must however be acknowledged, that several of those themselves justified, and, perhaps encouraged, by the praises which historians of all have lavished the scourges of humanity. The pulpit itself has been avoid folly. Every schoolboy learned by heart the beautiful picture of Cromwell drawn by Bossuet:—"A was

found," &c. What ambitious mind can hesitate on the road to crime, when he reads such praises written by the first of sacred orators? The Cardinal de Richelieu found a defender in the grave and wise author of "L'Esprit des Lois;" his cruelty, his thirst of blood and revenge, considered by most historians as the workings of a superior mind, at least as a proud contempt for humanity. The memory of that man has perhaps done more harm to France, than his genius her good. The execrable maxim, "The dead never rise again," is written in letters of blood throughout his history; and I have many reasons to believe that the rulers of the Convention had chosen him for their model. The horrible system of killing one's enemies instead of subduing them, and of reigning by the sword of terror, is convenient to cowardly and narrow minds; but men of elevated genius follow other maxims. They know that tyrants are but indifferent instruments of government. Henry the Fourth was the indulgent of sovereigns, and he

himself popular by gaining the affections of every one. Once ~~the~~ gave way to a ~~fatal~~ and sanguinary policy. It ~~is~~ but too sure ~~that~~ the death of Biron ~~was~~ of no use, either to his ~~own~~ authority, ~~or~~ to the happiness of the following generations.

The ~~work~~ of the Convention necessarily drew to an end. The government they ~~had~~ established exercised their tyranny ~~on~~ themselves: fear gave birth to despair; thousands of victims ~~had~~ been butchered under the eyes of the Assembly, which remained insensible, and at last sacrificed the government to its ~~own~~ safety. But it did not foresee that general contempt would succeed to terror. In vain did the Convention expel and punish such of ~~the~~ members

~~who~~ bathed themselves in blood—in vain did ~~it~~ recall those who had made themselves respectable by their courage and humanity. Hatred and indignation assailed it ~~on~~ all sides; and such ~~was~~ ~~the~~ situation, ~~that~~ ~~even~~ when adopting an amended ~~constitution~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ surrounded by the distrust of all honourable men, and the

clamour and threats of a populace, whose persecution it had itself completed by a raging outrage. In the month of Prairial, the Fauxbourg St. Antoine besieged the Assembly, and came to seek for victims in its bosom; and if the Convention was not forced to submit, it was owing to the heroic resistance of Boissy d'Anglas, whose admirable courage subdued the mob. The Assembly resolved at last on a desperate measure, the only one that could succeed: regular troops were sent in, and Pichegru led them to the suburb. The rebels were disarmed and humbled. This victory, which did not cost a drop of blood, has delivered us for a long while, I hope, from the fury of the rabble.

When I arrived in Paris, these events had already taken place. The Convention was at that time completing a Constitution which was not good, but which at least gave force and independence to the executive power, while it preserved the representative system. But the nation would accept nothing from that polluted



Assembly ; and, notwithstanding its exertions, the Constitution was but little approved of. The Convention, not wishing to the fault committed by the Constituent Assembly, who had abandoned the fruit of their labours to jealous and hostile hands, had passed a law declaring that two-thirds of its members were necessarily belong the councils established by the Constitution. Public opinion, however, was against them all ; that, when the citizens came together in the primary assemblies, to vote the Constitution the Law of the Two-thirds, they were exasperated publicly by orators whom misfortune and resentment had soured, and secretly by crafty royalists. "Must we," they said, "continue to for several years sitting among our legislators and deciding over their fate, who have favoured and practised the most horrible tyranny? We will have nothing to do with them ; let them It is sufficient accept their labour insure their safety by a generous oblivion

of their crimes." ■■■■ violent speeches, repeated with emphasis in all the assemblies, stirred up the spirit of the citizens, who, after having in vain attempted to reject the Constitutional Act and the Law of the Two-thirds, resolved to repel by force of ■■■■ those whom they had not been able ■■■■ by their votes. General Menou ■■■■ commander-in-chief of the military division. General d'Hilliers made ■■■■ acquainted with all the details of his staff. The regular troops at the disposal of Government did not amount to above five thousand men. They ■■■■ sufficient to maintain tranquillity, but not to oppose thirty thousand hostile and well-armed national guards. It ■■■■ not possible to draw any troops from the armies. The ■■■■ was going on actively; the disturbances in the Vendée ■■■■ not suppressed; and strong forces were required against the robberies of the Chouans. ■■■■ therefore resolved ■■■■ deceive the people in regard to the weakness of ■■■■ garrison by multiplying its movements, so ■■■■ it continually marched out of one gate

and into the other. **THE** little stratagem was soon discovered: it augmented the assurance of the leaders of the sections, and the day for the attack **WAS** fixed. On **THE** evening of the 18th of Vendemiaire, (2nd October,) several battalions of national guards **HAD** taken up arms. Those of the Petits Pères **AND** Filles St. Thomas assembled in the Rue Vivienne. General Menou surrounded them with regular troops, and summoned them to disperse. He might have forced them to do **SO** without **ENGAGING** in **A** battle; but an orator stepped out of the ranks and began to harangue the General with **A** warmth which he communicated **TO** his comrades. Menou had the weakness to listen **TO** him, and even to **REPLY** to him. From that account all **WAS** lost; the battalion remained, and the General retired; giving them **A** proof of his irresolution, and leaving Government in doubt concerning **THE** fidelity. The Convention **THOUGHT** that such **A** man might ruin **THE** cause: the command was taken from him during the night, and given to **THE** deputy,

Barras. A commission of public safety also appointed, to whom very extensive powers were given. Barras was a man of resolution, and had greatly contributed to the fall of Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor. Having been a commissioner of the Convention with the Southern army in 1793, he remarked a young officer of artillery, whose courage and advice had a great influence on the retaking of Toulon. This young man, who, after the 9th of Thermidor, been dismissed by of his former comrades called Aubry, a member of the Convention, to Paris a few months before, where he was soliciting without success his restoration to his rank of general of brigade. Vexation and disgust had, it was said, made him at last seek permission to go at the head of a troop of cannoniers, to among the Turks, to teach them the of artillery. He was ready to when sent for him, and presented him to the Committee, who consulted him on the difficulty, which they resolved to get

out of at any price. The members of the Committee agreed with one another on one point only; that is to say, that they were lost if the sections gained the victory. Civil war would then extend its ravages all over France, and nobody could calculate its consequences. On the other hand, they could not bring themselves to fire upon the people. Some wanted to make concessions which would have destroyed all hopes of redress; others spoke of stoically awaiting death in their chairs like true Romans. The artillery officer laughed both at their scruples and ridiculous resolution: he demonstrated to them that the Parisians were nothing but fools, led on by cunning rogues; that Government had in its favour power and right; that nothing was easier than to disperse, without spilling much blood, inexperienced battalions, which had neither clever leaders nor artillery. His firmness, his eloquence, his consciousness of great superiority, which his countenance itself betrayed, inspired confidence and carried persuasion into the minds of every one.

This young man's name was Bonaparte. The command of the artillery was given to him, and he left master of all the arrangements for the defence. He immediately assembled the officers, and made himself sure of their obedience. He then placed two at the entrance of the Rue St. Nicaise, another facing the church of St. Roche at the bottom of the Petite Rue du Dauphin, two more in the Rue St. Honoré, the Place Vendôme, and two facing the Pont Royal on the Quai Voltaire. Reserves of infantry were stationed behind the cannon, in order to protect them, and the Place du Carrousel. The cavalry was posted in the Place Louis XV. He afterwards acquainted the battalions that they were at liberty to remain where they were as long as they chose; but that if they went one step beyond the prescribed limits, or if they fired a single musket, he would repel them with his artillery. His firmness, instead of inspiring awe, convinced the enemy that he was afraid, and would not dare to fire. After

good [redacted] of hesitation, the enemy's troops put themselves in motion, those who [redacted] behind pushing [redacted] those who were in front, and [redacted] discharge of musketry [redacted] the signal of the attack. At the [redacted] instant, the grape shot of the three field-pieces carried death and terror [redacted] into their ranks. Their flight [redacted] rapid, so abrupt, and [redacted] complete, [redacted] a bullet shot off along the Rue St. Honoré [redacted] not touch [redacted] single person. General Carteaux had been placed on the Pont Neuf with [redacted] battalion of infantry of the line, in order to cut off the communication between the two banks of the Seine. I [redacted] [redacted] to carry him an order to stand firm; but he had already retired under the garden of the Infante, and the columns of the sections appeared already on the Quai [redacted] la Monnaie, with a view to make themselves [redacted] of the Pont Royal, and attack the Tuileries from that side. The general who [redacted] commanded [redacted] the foot of the bridge [redacted] them word [redacted] to advance any farther. They took [redacted] heed of it, and received the discharge of the

two cannons, after which they dispersed. That was enough to make the citizens tired of fighting; but the most determined among them, whose fear subsided when they imagined the danger distant, wanted to the attack. They had made themselves of the Palais Royal, and, like madmen, fancied they should be able to defend themselves there. Luckily night brings council: in the morning the leaders put themselves in safety, and the rest went home. Peace was signed next day, and order re-established. I do not think that the regular troops lost than four or five. On the part of the sections, the loss was more considerable. By the most calculation, it to have amounted to forty killed, and about two hundred wounded. This will not appear exaggerated if we consider that the steps of the church of St. Roch were covered with people; that the cannon fired in that direction was at no more than sixty paces distant, and that the of the Rue St. Honoré filled the whole to a great depth.



The command of the Parisian army was trusted to General Danican, almost unknown, in the ranks, where he had served for some time, and whom the restoration did bring into distinction.

Government felt that a too severe inquiry on the events would only contribute to exasperate the minds of the public, and that they ought to enjoy with moderation a victory which had been bought at the price of so much blood. A court martial was nevertheless instituted, with a view to frighten the leaders; but they were all acquitted, with the exception of an unfortunate emigrant, named Lafont, who had got secretly into Paris in order to intrigue in favour of his employers, and who had made himself conspicuous by a very violent behaviour. He was sentenced to death; but he would have been saved, if his intense devotion to the cause of the Bourbons had not made him reject the means he might have used to avoid his condemnation.

The royalists have pretended of late years,

that this insurrection of the Parisians was a generous effort attempted in favour of the Bourbons. I declare that this is not the fact. I was placed in the most favourable position for observing the passions and intrigues which brought about the unfortunate catastrophe of the 13th of Vendemiaire. I was acquainted with several honourable men who had taken part with the sections, and I saw neither in the people, nor in their leaders, any wish for the return of the Bourbons, much less a plan for recalling them. The death of the King was deplored by all sensible men; but liberty was beloved. Hatred of the Convention was carried to the highest pitch, on account of the horrors with which that assembly had visited the country. I questioned the most violent as to what they wished to establish in the place of the expiring government. Their answer was, "We will have nothing to do with *them*. It is the Republic we wish for, with honest men to govern us." No man went farther than this. It is true, that some insinua-

tions were made in the sections, in favour of the Royal Family ; but so feeble, ■■ ambiguous, ■■■ very little attention ■■■ paid to them. No ■■■ thought of pronouncing the name of that family. I have no doubt, that if the sections had triumphed, the attempt would have been more direct and more bold ; perhaps ■■■ it would have succeeded, but then civil ■■■ would have broken out on all sides. And if, eighteen years after, with the aid of all Europe, the Bourbons were unable to maintain themselves on the throne, what would have been their fate at ■ period when France, not yet accustomed to the yoke, ■■■ animated by republican habits and ideas, and uncurbed energy ?

Two days after the 13th of Vendemiaire, Barras introduced to the Convention all the generals and officers of the ■■■ who ■■■ ■■■ tributed to ■■■ that Assembly. General Bonaparte ■■■ there, but he mingled with the crowd. When Barras, in his speech, pronounced ■■■ ■■■ with compliment, those who

surrounded him wanted ■ make him advance to the first rank. He pushed them aside with ■ look of ill-humour and diffidence which pleased me. There ■ in his actions less of pride than ■ delicate feeling of propriety. He ■ ashamed to be praised for such ■ victory. Besides, it is certain he felt no great esteem for those in whose favour he had fought, and who ■ thus lavishing their applause on him.

## CHAPTER X.

Directory.—General Bonaparte marries the widow General Alexander Beauharnais.—He goes for Italy.— Pacification of the Vendée.—General receives order for service in Italy, whither I follow him.

THE Convention hastened to put an end to its stormy session, so fatal to humanity, but still memorable from the incredible vigour with which it saved France from a foreign yoke. The ruins of government were delivered into the hands of the Directory. General Bonaparte was made commander-in-chief of the military division, of the city of Paris. One of the first measures that were taken by the new government was, disarming all the citizens of the metropolis. They delivered up their arms without much regret: the trial they

had just made of ~~that~~ strength was not of a nature ~~to~~ inspire them with great confidence in themselves. ~~This~~ measure ~~was~~ executed with great rigour. Swords and sabres were comprehended in ~~the~~ general confiscation. The widow of General Beauharnais ~~was~~ going ~~to~~ deliver up ~~to~~ ~~one~~ of the commissioners entrusted with these orders the sabre of her late husband, when her ~~son~~ Eugene, then scarcely thirteen years old, seized the weapon, and declared that they who wished to have it must first take his life. The commissioner consented to leave it him, provided he got ~~a~~ permission from the general-in-chief. Eugene flew to his house: the deep emotion the child evinced, his name, his interesting appearance, the ardour and simplicity with which he expressed his wishes, touched the general. He embraced him, allowed him to keep the dearly-beloved sword, and visited ~~Mrs~~ de Beauharnais. She ~~was~~ young, amiable, and more ~~than~~ pretty. He ~~fell~~ in love ~~with~~ her, and soon ~~after~~ married her; so that their union, ~~which~~ ~~was~~ so long a happy.

[REDACTED] had its origin in [REDACTED] amiable trait of filial piety.

When General Beauharnais left the army of the Rhine, he [REDACTED] retired to [REDACTED] of his estates, situated [REDACTED] few leagues from Blois. There he lived in profound retirement, lamenting the deplorable outrages that disgraced liberty, and bitterly regretting the glory he could [REDACTED] longer share. But his [REDACTED] [REDACTED] been too celebrated for him to entertain [REDACTED] reasonable hope of escaping the persecutions to which the members of the Constituent Assembly [REDACTED] [REDACTED] posed. He [REDACTED] arrested, and thrown into the prisons of Paris, shortly before the 9th of Thermidor, and at [REDACTED] time when the people [REDACTED] at last returning to right feeling, and beginning to shudder at the sight of the blood with which they had long feasted their eyes. The Jacobins invented the prison conspiracies, [REDACTED] a pretence for prolonging their [REDACTED] [REDACTED] They had mixed with the prisoners [REDACTED] spies, who found men vile enough to purchase their lives by atrocious calumny. One of these wretches,

enraged at having been discovered by M. de Beauharnais in the midst of his infamous intrigues, and at hearing him speak openly of the fact with ■ the honourable pride of an upright man, denounced him. He ■ sent ■ the scaffold, and suffered on the 7th of Thermidor, two days before the fall of Robespierre.

Madame de Beauharnais ■ been locked up, during eighteen months, in ■ of the prisons of Paris, where she had fallen seriously ill, when her indictment, which ■ no better than a sentence of death, was transmitted to her. Fortunately a Polish physician, an honest and courageous man, whose ■ I am sorry I do not know, attended her. He declared that she would not survive eight days longer, and by that ■ saved her life. When she got out of prison, she exerted with resolute benevolence all the advantages which her name, her misfortune, and the gifts of her amiable mind, conferred ■ her, to obtain the liberty of the greatest part of her former companions in captivity. ■ was beloved and esteemed by the



respectable members of society. The excellent qualities of her heart made her fully worthy of her exalted station. I shall more than once recur with pleasure to her in the of these memoirs.

The functions of commander-in-chief of the city of Paris gave considerable influence General Bonaparte, and his conduct the 13th Vendémiaire ensured him a just title the confidence of the Directory ; but Government soon felt itself troubled and humbled by the authority of the young General. To say the truth, he continually acted after his own way, meddled with every thing, decided on every thing, and acted but upon his own ideas. The activity and extent of his mind, and the pride of his nature, rendered him unable to obey in any circumstances. The Directory wished still to spare the Jacobins ; the General locked up their assembly-room, Government learnt the step he had taken just when they were going to upon it. Some members of the old nobility seemed dangerous

in Paris. The Directory resolved to send him away; the General extended to them his protection, and Government was forced to yield. He prescribed measures, recalled disgraced generals, repelled with pride all prepossession, wounded the vanity of every body, laughed at prejudices, braved hatred, and condemned the slow and embarrassed pace of Government. If the Directory happened to remonstrate with him, instead of appearing offended, he developed his ideas and plans with so much clearness, care, and eloquence, that no objection was possible, and two hours afterwards all he proposed was executed. But if the Directory was tired of Bonaparte, the General was less so of Paris life, which afforded no career to his ambition, no field for his genius. He had, a long time before, formed a plan for the conquest of Italy. Long service in the Army of Nice had procured him the necessary leisure to mature his designs, to calculate their difficulties, and guess all their chances. The Government

the command of that army with money and troops. He was made general-in-chief: he got troops, but only the ~~total~~ ~~arm~~ of one hundred thousand ~~soldiers~~. With those scanty means he ~~was~~ to conquer Italy ~~at~~ the ~~expense~~ of troops who had received no pay for the last six months, and who ~~had~~ not ~~even~~ shoes to their feet. But Bonaparte felt the consciousness of his strength; and, looking forward with delight to the future, he took leave of the Directory, who ~~was~~ his departure with secret pleasure, happy to be rid of a man whose character awed them, and whose projects were, in the eyes of the majority of its members, nothing ~~more~~ than the wild fancies of a youth full of pride and presumption.

General d'Hilliers ~~was~~ been dismissed on the day after the 13th Vendemiaire, for having expressed himself in strong terms against that expedition. He went to General Bonaparte, who procured him a fresh appointment, and he was sent as chief of the staff to the right division of the Western army, whose head-quarters

Alençon. The war in the Vendée brought to an end through fatigue and want of food. The consequences of the [ ] of the Loire [ ] been too fatal to the Vendéans, to leave them in a situation to prolong the contest. Their most able leaders [ ] killed. The grand-children of Henry IV. [ ] disdained to appear among those gallant soldiers, who fought without regimentals, without order, and whose appearance had not the [ ] times useless brilliancy of regular troops. Charette, the only [ ] who still might have supported his part, had been shot at Nantz by order of Government, who would have acted [ ] honourably in granting him his pardon ; and the unfortunate attempt [ ] Quiberon had struck the last blow to the enthusiasm and hopes of the [ ] bels. Scattered bands, acting without any decided aim, still ravaged [ ] parts of the country. General Hoche, to whom the command of the western departments was entrusted, succeeded in a short time, by his wisdom, moderation, and resolution, in destroying the last remains of civil

war. He [redacted] a system of moveable columns, whose motions [redacted] calculated with so much precision, that while they were continually crossing [redacted] country in all directions, they frequently met and [redacted] enabled to support [redacted] another [redacted] [redacted] they should be attacked by superior forces. The enemy, thus chased, unable to enjoy one moment's rest [redacted] safety, got discouraged, and at last preferred to exertions without aim, [redacted] peace which ensured him the free exercise of those religious duties for which he had taken up arms, and the hope of better times. In Normandy, where I was, [redacted] [redacted] raging without glory, but not without peril. The Chouans, secured against surprise behind their high hedges, aimed close upon [redacted] and cost [redacted] a great number of [redacted]. When they wanted to replenish their military chest, they stopped the stage-coaches, stripped the travellers, and frequently killed them. These gentlemen fancied [redacted] their title of royalists ennobled [redacted] their profession of robbers. A little [redacted] [redacted] our arrival, a general and well-

directed bush-beating [ ] taken place against them, and [ ] disgusted them [ ] a profession which left them [ ] other prospect than [ ] punishment due to highway robbers. Count Frotté, who commanded those noble troops, gave [ ] companions leave to make their peace, and went [ ] England, after having, as it was reported, broken his sword. The principal leaders then wrote to General Montigny, who commanded the division, to solicit an interview, which took place [ ] the castle of Louvet, [ ] Alençon. I [ ] to [ ] these gentlemen into [ ] wood [ ] the castle. I was conducted there blindfolded; and after a quarter of an hour's walk, I found in [ ] thicket a dozen tattered wretches lying on the grass, exhausted with fatigue and want. Some of them were remarkable for a haughty expression of countenance, which they did not belie during the conference. Their submission [ ] unreserved. Several among them were obliged to leave the [ ] of their achievements, others joined [ ] armies of [ ] Republic. When [ ] treaty was

signed, ■■ ■ stepped into ■ room, where ■ splendid breakfast ■■ prepared. There ■■ twenty of ■ standing round the table and looking ■ ■■ another in silence. General Montigny invited them to sit down. An unequivocal motion of the head ■■ all the ■■ they gave. Cold ceremonies ■■ exchanged ; after which, ■ all mounted ■ horses and separated.

One of the conditions of the treaty was, that the leaders of the troops should recover the unsold part of their property, ■ those of the Ven-  
dean army had already done. This favour ■■ justly due, not only to their valour and ■■ tions, but also to their patriotic sentiments, which had made them prefer the dangers of civil war to the disgrace of serving under foreign banners. Now that the emigrants ■■ happy in the enjoyment of the rank and ■■  
fidence the Sovereign allows them, ■■ may speak freely ■■ their conduct. The first impulse which urged them to fly cannot be ■  
blamed ; but how ■■ one justify the disgrace-

ful resolution of placing themselves in the pay of the enemies of their country? The Revolution ■ ■ family quarrel, from which foreign nations ought by ■ ■ ■ ■ to have been excluded. What was to be expected of the Austrians, the Prussians, ■ the English, but the subjection of France, her dismemberment, and disgrace? The Vendéans also fought to maintain their religion and the monarchy; but, far from giving themselves up to ■ foreign enemy, they never would suffer English troops to ■ ■ ■ to their support. They had not forgotten that Henry IV. ■ ■ obliged to take German troopers into his pay; but that his magnanimous soul would have recoiled ■ the thought of receiving pay of the Germans. The cause of the Vendéans, thus defended, ■ ■ ■ respectable. They certainly could not hope to get the better of the determined will of ■ whole nation resolved to be free, and who could not be ■ ■ under the government of the Bourbons; but ■ ■ least they were Frenchmen, and the troops who fought against them experienced a



feeling of pride ■ the sight of French peasants opposing them with more courage and firmness than all the kings of Europe united together.

This war against the Chouans was not more pleasing to General M'Herbes than to myself. He did not wait for the pacification to solicit of General Bonaparte the honour of serving under his orders. The letters of appointment ■ arrived. M. d'Hilliers ■ off post for Italy. I was obliged to travel on horseback. The name of Bonaparte greeted my ears in every place through which I passed. Each day brought the account of some ■ victory. His letters to Government,—his proclamations, ■ elevated in style, and ■ wonderfully eloquent, roused all minds. All France shared the enthusiasm of the army for ■ much glory,—for such brilliant and ■ triumphs. The words Montenotte, Millesimo, Lodi, Milan, Castiglione were repeated with a noble pride ■ of Jemmapes, Fleurus, and Valmy.

## CHAPTER XI.

My arrival ■ Milan.—I ■■ appointed Aide-de-camp ■ ■■ General-in-chief.—The army marches ■ Vienna.—Battles of Rivoli, La Corona, &c.

WHEN I arrived at ■■■ the victory of Castiglione had just been gained. General Wurmser, beaten, ■■ flying in the direction of Mantua; and after having come to force ■■ to raise the siege of that city, he was himself obliged to seek ■ refuge within its walls. I ■■ convinced that General d'Hilliers was to be employed in military service, and during the journey I indulged in glittering dreams of glory and advancement. How great was now my consternation when I found ■■■ governor of Lombardy! I was going to be ■■■ again in the ■■■ business of a staff, sentenced ■■■

the bulletins of our victories,—to be busy about the thousand minutiae of an office, so tiresome to a soldier,—and at last not dare to acknowledge that I had been in the Army of Italy, of which I should share neither the perils nor the triumphs. Besides, my sword was my only fortune, and could I hope for advancement when I had not deserved any? These thoughts grieved me sorely, and made me adopt the resolution of soliciting the command of a troop of infantry in a brigade of the vanguard. General d'Hilliers attempted in vain to make me alter my mind. Forced at last to yield to my entreaties, he was about to give me my orders, when the intelligence of the victory of Arcola arrived at Milan. Two aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief had been killed,—Muiron, an officer of artillery, for whom he entertained a great regard, of whose good qualities made him worthy,—and young Elliott, a nephew of General Clarke. The Emperor spoke of me to General Bonaparte with great warmth, and I got appointed to succeed Muiron. My

first sensation was joy in this unexpected favour of fortune, but it was soon troubled by the fear of being severely judged by me so well able to judge my merits. My uneasiness was such as to make me regret the success General d'Hilliers had obtained. I went to the General-in-chief, who lodged in the Palazzo Serbelloni. He was giving audience. His saloon was filled with military men of all ranks, and high civil officers. His air was affable, but his look was firm and fixed, that I turned pale when he addressed himself to me. I faltered out my thanks, and afterwards my thanks, to which he listened in silence, his eyes fastening on me with an expression of severity that quite disconcerted me. At last he said, "Come back at six o'clock, and put on the sash." That sash, which distinguished the aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief, was of white and red silk, and was worn round the right arm.

When I went back to the palace at the appointed hour, the aide-de-camp duty introduced me into the saloon of the aides-de-camp. This

was a subject of perplexity. I was not acquainted with any of them. They could see by my looks that I was a new comrade, but not ~~had~~ came up to me. They communicated their observations to one another, directing towards my person looks that ~~did~~ not seem to me very favourable, until Marmont came in, ~~and~~ perceiving me, took me by the hand, and said, "Here is a new comrade, who will soon be a friend."—"In the field of battle," I answered with a blush, "I shall be less embarrassed than I am here." A few days were sufficient to establish between us a degree of friendship that has never diminished. The aides-de-camp of the general-in-chief were at that time eight in number. Murat, who had been named general of brigade, was no longer one of them. The first was Colonel Junot, afterwards Duc d'Abrantes. He was born in Burgundy, and enlisted as a private soldier in a company of volunteer cannoniers of the department. At the siege of Toulon, he was admired for an instance of intrepidity that has seldom

occurred since. The famous redoubt, called *Les culottes*, defended by the English, had been attacked for several hours, but its fire was still very troublesome to us. General Bonaparte ordered a battalion to take it by storm. Although Junot did not belong to that battalion, he rushed first of all into the ditch, climbed up the scarp, jumped into the redoubt through a battlement, killed two cannoniers at their posts, and by that means gave his companions time to join him. The redoubt was taken amidst cries of "The Republic for ever!" General Bonaparte made him serjeant; and his handwriting being clear and neat, he made him of him as our secretary during the remainder of the campaign. When I met him for the first time, he was a colonel, and had been wounded in the battle of Castiglione. Junot was distinguished to great courage much natural shrewdness. After having served during twenty years, and passed through all military ranks, he ended his life in a deplorable manner. The cold he suffered in the Russian campaign disordered his mental

faculties. The unhappy man died under his paternal roof. His [redacted] returned a short time before [redacted] breathed his last, and seeing himself again in the humble chamber in which he had passed [redacted] youth, he [redacted] enabled justly to appreciate his glittering dream of fortune and glory.

Marmont, a colonel of artillery, [redacted] also born in Burgundy, of an ancient and respectable family in that province. [redacted] education had been particularly well attended to, and he had [redacted] tered very young into the army. The principal features of his character were [redacted] that time an unbounded passion for glory and ambition, and an attachment to his general that amounted to enthusiasm.—Duroc was the third aide-de-camp. Though less brilliant than the two former, he possessed greater solidity of judgment, and a remarkable tenaciousness of character. In 1789 he was an officer of artillery: he had emigrated, but had speedily returned to France. The General-in-chief [redacted] much attached to him. Duroc [redacted] grateful, and I believe [redacted] fidelity would

have nobly borne the dangerous ordeal of the revolution of 1814.—The fourth aide-de-camp ■■■ Le Marrois, a young ■■■ scarcely ■■■■ teen years old, and already covered with wounds.—After him came Sulkowski, ■ true Pole, of chivalrous valour, passionately fond of adventures, with a romantic and restless mind, well informed, and speaking fluently all the languages of Europe. When almost ■ child, he had fought for the liberty of his country. Wounded ■ the siege of Warsaw, and ■■■■ expelled to fly, he came to France. He ■■■ soon after sent to Constantinople with M. Descorches, our ambassador. The Committee of Public Safety, wishing to have an agent in India, Sulkowski undertook that mission. He had already passed Aleppo, where the English discovered him, and got ■■■■ Arabs to rob him of his papers. Having escaped out of their hands, he returned to Paris, and obtained an appointment in the Army of Italy. ■■■ was engaged ■ the siege of Mantua, when a report that he had ■■■■ to the ■■■■ of the



fell under the eyes of the general-in-chief, and the following day he made his aide-de-camp.—We had also among Louis Bonaparte, then scarcely sixteen years of age, and whom his brother spared more than the rest of the most perilous missions. Louis fulfilled them with a satisfaction which proved him worthy of his name.—Elliott having been killed, as I mentioned above, the General-in-chief took in his place Crossier, a brave and clever officer of cavalry.

Such my new comrades, whose acquaintance I made while waiting for the General-in-chief. He arrived at seven o'clock, and down to . . . He placed me next to himself. All the guests were as much surprised as I was at this extraordinary favour; but I did not remain long in suspense to the which it was owing. The General wished to know what he had to expect of the acquaintance he had rather rashly made. His questions began with the very first and lasted till we rose from table; that is to say, during three-quarters of an hour. "Where

have you served? In what army? At what time did you enter ~~in~~ service? Under what generals have you fought? What ~~was~~ the strength of ~~the~~ Rhine army? What position ~~it~~ it occupy before Mentz? Why did they not go to the assistance of that city? How ~~was~~ the lines of the Lauter lost? How ~~was~~ Landau delivered? What generals had the highest reputation in the Rhine army? What ~~was~~ the forces of the enemy on the 18th of October, and when the lines ~~was~~ retaken?" He listened attentively ~~to~~ all my answers, and shortened them when they ~~were~~ too diffuse. I perceived, by his pithy observations, that he ~~was~~ perfectly well acquainted with the history of the Rhine army. The distance and position of the different places, the abilities of the generals, their systems and faults,—all ~~was~~ familiar to him. When dinner ~~was~~ over he ceased to speak to me. I was afraid he was ~~displeased~~ with my ~~answers~~. I was comforted, however, by the thought that the ordeal of the field of battle would ~~be~~ ~~more~~ favourable to ~~me~~.

We remained a fortnight ~~at~~ Milan, waiting

the enemy to come more down from Tyrol, make a fresh attempt on Milan. The General-in-chief was at that time just married. Madame Bonaparte a charming woman; and all the anxiety of the command,—all the trouble of the government of Italy, could not prevent her husband from giving himself wholly up to the happiness he enjoyed at home. It was during that short residence at Milan that the young painter Gros, afterwards so celebrated, painted a picture of the General. He represented him on the bridge of Lodi, at the moment when, with the colours in his hand, he rushed forward, to induce the troops to follow him. The painter could never obtain a long sitting. Madame Bonaparte used to take her husband upon her lap after breakfast, and hold him fast for a few minutes. I was present at three of these sittings. The age of the newly married couple, and the painter's enthusiasm for the hero, were sufficient excuses for such familiarity. The portrait was at the time a striking resemblance. Some copies have

been ~~known~~ of it; but ~~the~~ original is in ~~the~~ possession of the Queen of Holland, Duchess of St. Leu.

We ~~went~~ off for Verona. The day ~~after~~ our arrival I received an order to reconnoitre ~~the~~ enemy posted ~~in~~ the ~~banks~~ of the Adige, facing Roveredo. My instructions ~~were~~ to force him ~~to~~ make ~~some~~ demonstrations, but not to come to ~~an~~ action. I ~~was~~ to bring back ~~a~~ exact account of all the points the enemy occupied in the valley, with particulars, which, by the by, the General ~~was~~ very fond of, ~~and~~ the respective positions of the two vanguards. Some troops were put ~~at~~ my disposal, and I learned some days after, that ~~a~~ secret order had been given to one of the generals of the vanguard, to follow ~~me~~ in all my movements, and rectify my blunders. This commission ~~was~~ not very important. The manner in which I acquitted myself of it was not very bad; and ~~the~~ General bestowed no praises either on my behaviour or on my report, at least I received no reproaches.

The enemy soon returned in force. General Bonaparte had foreseen on which        he was to be attacked, the chief aim of the Austrians being naturally the deliverance of Mantua. He had in consequence placed the mass of his army along the Adige,     Rivoli and La Corona. He knew that the Archduke Charles        intent on taking Kehl, and that that small fortress, less formidable still by the strength of its walls, than by the determination of General Desaix, who defended it, would cost the Prince     great many        and much time. The diversion the enemy made on Porto Legnago and St. George        of no use; they        beaten     Rivoli by the division of Messina, under the command of General Bonaparte. The consequences of this battle        beyond all calculation for the Army of Italy. Tyrol     open to us; Mantua surrendered, and the General-in-chief found time to explain himself with     Pope     Tolentino. A short time before the        of Rivoli, General Brune        arrived     the army. He            by the Directory.

experienced such a flattering reception as surprised us. His name was utterly unknown. Report stated that he had come to make his first campaign, and we were curious to judge in how far he would deserve the distinction General Bonaparte had shown him, who was not often prodigal of his praises, and who knew so perfectly well how to appreciate real merit: however, General Brune justified them. I was not at Rivoli, having been sent to St. George; but I learned the next day, through Sulkowski, that Brune had fought at La Corona with great skill and singular valour. He had acquired an extraordinary reputation as a republican. In 1791, when the expiring monarchy was struggling against its enemy who crushed it at the end, Brune was one of the leaders of the club of the Cordeliers, and led the riot of the Champ de Mars, which the mayor, Bailly, dispersed by proclaiming martial law. He was imprisoned, and a report was spread that his Court had attempted to get rid of him by odious means. At the beginning of the war, Brune

employed some obscure posts; but afterwards, whether the Directory was afraid of a man of such unusual spirit, whether he persuaded himself that his courage would be better employed in the army, he obtained leave to serve in Italy. General Bonaparte, foreseeing that he should one day have great contests with the Jacobin party, resigned to General Brune a part of the honour of the victory of Rivoli, and made him a general of division. Some years after, he was appointed commander-in-chief of that same army, of which he had been one of the least distinguished generals. These distinctions were owing either to some talents he really possessed, or to General Bonaparte's wish of attaching to his person some of the leaders of a party, among which several men of merit were to be found. The pursuit of the enemy and the conquest of Tyrol were entrusted to General Joubert, a young man, who had begun his military career in the Army of the Pyrenees, whom the General-in-chief raised in a short time from the rank

of colonel to that of general of division. His merit was so conspicuous, that his comrades, though older than he, did not complain of a preference he deserved by his courage, talents, and prudence, which Massena himself openly acknowledged. I ordered to accompany Joubert to Trente, of which he made himself master five days after he had begun the attack.

While the Austrians were making an unlucky effort to deliver Mantua and drive the French out of Italy, the Pope, excited by them, and discontented with the loss of the three Legations, hastily raised some troops and resolved to take a part in the formidable contest. The time when the pontiffs used to influence powerfully the doctrines of Italy was long past : Pius the Sixth, a stately pontiff, possessed of the dangerous qualities of Julius the Second. The General-in-chief marched against him with a single division. His aide-de-camp, Junot, was ordered to oppose the enemy. He fell in with him near Faenza. A few shots were exchanged ; but all



the troops he found **down** their **with** so much docility, that the Pope sent in haste three cardinals to sign a treaty, which caused him long to repent his imprudent attack.

By this treaty the cession of the three Legations **confirmed**, while the Pope **obliged** to pay fifteen millions for his perilous enterprise, and deliver up the most precious masterpieces of antiquity which adorned his capital and provinces. This episode of the **was** very short. The Archduke Charles, having **last** made himself master of Kehl, **march-**ing to **in** great haste to help General \* \* \* to deliver Mantua and the Holy Father. He arrived too late : the town had opened its gates, and the Pope delivered up his treasures. A certain number of emigrants **found** in the fortress. The laws that had been passed against them **from** being repealed ; the General-in-chief nevertheless ordered General Serurier **let** them pass unmolested. I **not** know whether they showed themselves grateful for that **of** generosity.

The General-in-chief, foreseeing that his campaign would require great exertions, applied to Government for a fresh supply of troops. He could not continue fighting in exhausted Lombardy; but having his line of operations strongly supported at Mantua, he wanted to in his turn to seek the enemy, and, uniting operations with those of the armies of the Rhine, disgust the republicans of a war which had no longer a reasonable aim, and kept alive by malicious passions. In France, every body was desirous of serving under General Bonaparte. Bernadotte obtained the preference, and his army arrived at the banks of the Piave, the day before the passage of that river. I was ordered to go and compliment him, and to seek a ford where he might pass the river. The most elegant politeness of manner distinguished the General and his staff; they appeared delighted at forming a part of his army, and especially at serving under the command of the hero of Italy. The interview took place next day, and it was marked by a

degree of cordiality and candour, which produced a good impression among the troops present at the

The first attacks of the French army with so much impetuosity, that the enemy found himself unable to resist, and compelled to choose another ground. He retired to the Tagliamonte, the passage of which he resolved to last to defend. General Bonaparte settled every thing so that the honour of the day might belong to Bernadotte: a corps of six thousand grenadiers placed under his orders, and he received the command of the centre, where the enemy had the strongest forces to oppose to him. Bernadotte passed the main branches of the rivers, at the head of his soldiers, crying, "The Republic for ever!" and under the most murderous fire; but Massena, who commanded the left wing, had attacked with so much vigour, that the enemy before he only fought to get to the end of the day, and not to be too much harassed in their retreat.

The result of this battle made the General-

in-chief sensible that the Archduke retreated  
 ■■ await him beyond the plains of Styria, ■■■  
 that the ■■■■ ■■ might approach ■■ Vienna,  
 the ■■■■ equal the forces and the ■■■■ stub-  
 born the defence would become. Bonaparte  
 resolved therefore to recall the division of Joubert that ■■■ at Brixen. He left, it is true,  
 Lombardy open to the enemy, who would not  
 ■■■ to attack it; but he ■■■ very ■■■ that if  
 ■■■ the Austrians ■■■ vanquished and forced  
 to make peace, it would not prove very difficult  
 for him to ■■■■ his conquests and re-establish  
 order everywhere.

## CHAPTER XII.

My mission to Tyrol.—Its dangers.—Preliminaries ■ Leoben.  
 —Venice ■ ■ ■ Austria.—Riot ■ Genoa.—Murder  
 of ■ Frenchman.—General Bonaparte ■ ■ ■ ■  
 satisfaction.

WITH two companies of grenadiers of the 69th, and ■■■■ cavalry, I ■■■ sent to fetch General Joubert. General Zayonjeck, a Pole, newly arrived ■ the army, received an order to support me with some squadrons of dragoons. I arrived at Lienz without any impediment; but there I got certain information ■■■ I could not, without losing all my men to the very last, penetrate to the place where our first troops stood under ■■■ command of General ■■■■ I wished however to carry my undertaking into execution, and what I could not do with my soldiers I resolved to

attempt alone. I therefore ~~led~~ my troop ~~to~~ Lienz under the command of a good captain, ~~and~~ taking with me a lieutenant named Acyorte, a brave and resolute man, I threw myself with him into a calèche, both of us well wrapped up in our cloaks, hoping we might be able to cross that part of Tyrol in the character of Italian merchants. We advanced, in fact, ~~some~~ stages without meeting with any obstacle. We had already reached the first houses of Mühlbach at nightfall, when our carriage ~~was~~ stopped by the clergyman of the place, who said to me in Latin: "Do not enter; fly to the mountains, or you are lost. You are expected, and nobody will be able to save you." Since I had left college, I had entirely neglected the Latin language. I scarcely understood it, and I was making the clergyman repeat his speech, when his sudden flight, and his furious cries, warned us that we had but a moment to lose. In an instant we jumped out of the carriage and ran to the hills. We hid ourselves in a ditch: when up to our necks

In the [redacted] we heard the Tyrolians pass and fire their muskets. The pursuit [redacted] long, and [redacted] without uneasiness to [redacted]. At last [redacted] ventured to change [redacted] position. We penetrated farther into the mountains, [redacted] the garret of a hovel [redacted] our retreat for the remainder of the night. At daybreak [redacted] [redacted] obliged to adopt [redacted] resolution. To advance [redacted] impossible: we decided therefore to return [redacted] foot to Lienz, avoiding the inhabited places. We succeeded for some leagues; but after having in vain attempted to turn a village, [redacted] [redacted] forced to pass through it. The peasants [redacted] at church, the doors of which were open. Some old women called after us, and a dozen of the most alert among the men soon reached [redacted]. We [redacted] forced to yield to numbers. We [redacted] not know German enough to make ourselves understood by people who besides spoke that language very ill, and they resolved to lead us back to Mühlbach. The whole population of the town and environs were assembled together. We were introduced

into the town-hall, situated in the great square. The people were highly excited, and I could see by the fear depicted on the faces of the municipal officers, that the situation was becoming dangerous. Several of those brutes were dragging me along, when, after having suddenly disengaged myself from their hands, I peremptorily insisted on being heard. But then I again the difficulty of making myself understood. I sat down, took up a pen and wrote in Italian, that I was 'an aide-de-camp of the General-in-chief Bonaparte; that I was carrying to General Joubert the news that a truce had been signed with the Archduke Charles; that they were at liberty to murder us,—but in that case, my mission not being executed, hostilities would continue in Tyrol, and my death be revenged on the inhabitants. This account being proclaimed from the top of the balcony, and repeated among the crowd, succeeded in calming them. I then asked leave to continue my journey, but the cries began anew. The only permission I obtained was to



return to Lienz. We were escorted there by a gentleman and a clergyman respected by the peasants. On our arrival I gave them a written acknowledgment of their generous conduct, and hope some day to be able to record their names, and recommend them to the notice of all friends of humanity.

I had scarcely arrived at Lienz, when I learned that I was about to be attacked by the Tyroleans who had assembled in the mountains. The inhabitants of the place were not very peaceably disposed; but I hoped to awe them by my firmness. I could not entertain the intention of engaging in a useless action. I wished, however, to carry along with me about fifty wounded Frenchmen whom I found in the hospital, and whom the Austrians had abandoned in their retreat. While I was taking the necessary measures for their transfer, I was told that one of the posts placed at the entrance of the town had been killed by the Tyroleans, who were advancing against me. I returned to the inn on foot on horseback; but,

just as I was coming out of the door, a dozen of these rebels, placed in ambush at thirty steps distance, fired at us and killed my horse, and also those my servant was holding by the bridle, and gave me a severe bruise in the belly. I had just time to extricate myself and rejoin the troops. To attempt resistance in the interior of the town would have been madness: we were amidst a shower of bullets, shot from the windows. The Tyroleans were waiting for us at the gate. We were obliged to repulse them with the bayonet, and continued fighting till we arrived at Spital, several leagues off. There I found General Zayonjeck, who had succeeded in getting forward, and was coming to join me. This affair cost us five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and three distinguished officers. This loss grieved me sorely, and though I had done all that prudence required, I was nevertheless anxious to know what impression it would make on the General-in-chief. My report preceded me: I was well received, though he blamed me for having

tured alone, and without the hope of being assisted. The order I had been the bearer of, had also been entrusted to an officer who went from Trente, and who was more fortunate than I. General Joubert hastened to join the General-in-chief with his whole army corps; but the truce was already signed.

After the victory of Neumark, General Bonaparte had written to the Archduke to propose peace. The Cabinet of Vienna, tired of the long and unfortunate contest, and fearing that the loss of a battle might bring the enemy to the gates of their metropolis, eagerly seized the only chance of stopping the French in their victorious career. The truce was signed at Judenburg on the 7th, and the preliminaries at Leoben on the 18th of April, by Messrs. de Gullo and Meerfeld for the part of the Austrians, and General Bonaparte and M. Clarke for the part of the French.

The close of hostilities and the expectation of a speedy and lasting peace were hailed by the belligerent nations with the greater enthu-

siasm, because during the latter years the war had no longer for its object either the safety of the people, ■ the dignity of the ■■ reign. The government of the French Republic was acknowledged by ■ part of Europe, and the conquest of the Austrian states ■■■■■■ morated by twenty victories. However great might be the talents the Archduke Charles had displayed in his German campaigns, the Emperor could not expect to be able to beat the Army of Italy with troops discouraged by ■ many defeats, and by a system of retreat in which they only saw ■ proof of their inferiority, without guessing ■ the real plan of their leader, which ■■ to draw his adversary out of Italy, from whence he got all his supplies.

The march of Bonaparte through the hereditary states, where he seemed obstinately pursuing ■■ enemy continually retiring before him, ■■■ strongly criticised ■ that time when the lustre of his glory ■■■ surrounded him with envy. ■ has ■■■ said, ■■■ ■ the Arch-

duke Charles had refused the truce, Bonaparte would have been obliged to follow him to the banks of the Danube, where the chances of success would have been in favour of the Austrians; that a first check in that position would have been the certain prelude of a defeat, after which he would have had no chance of retreating and avoiding total ruin. No one doubted but Italy would have been lost, General Laudon having penetrated into Lombardy through Tyrol, while the insurrection of the Venetian republic had spread disorder among the troops, and consternation among all the friends of France. If all those assertions had been founded in truth, it must be acknowledged that Bonaparte not only wanted prudence in his campaign, but also that, by a degree of vanity contrary to all common sense, he resolved to expose the most perilous chances his army, his glory, and Italy, to satisfy the frivolous ambition of the quishing Prince Charles, and making himself master of the metropolis of the Austrian empire.

pire.—But it was not so. In the first place, the necessity of repulsing the Archduke was urgent, the Prince having sought to seek Bonaparte on the banks of the Piava. In pursuing him beyond the Julian Alps, the French general took all the precautions that the nature of war and the most prudent prudence required. The left of his army had made itself master of the valleys of the Adige and the Drave, in those parts of Tyrol of which it was necessary that he should have possession in order to facilitate his operations. When he perceived that by the retreat of the Archduke he should be obliged, if he wished to pursue him, to penetrate into the interior of Styria, he recalled General Joubert, and reinforced his army by twenty-two thousand men. This augmentation of his troops gave him a superiority in numbers which the Austrians would not have been able to equal even under the walls of Vienna; for all the forces of the monarchy were already exhausted,—and the campaigns of Austerlitz and Wagram have sufficiently

proved that the inhabitants of Vienna, and even those of the hereditary states, except Tyroleans, do not readily take up arms. They would probably have remained peaceable spectators of the contest, of which the object was of no advantage to them. As to the loss of Italy, there was no likelihood of such an event. The small corps commanded by M. de Laudon might certainly have caused some confusion at first; but that general was without support—without any real line of operations. We possessed well-furnished fortresses, well-garrisoned, a body of excellent and well-commanded troops. The insurrection of the Venetian states, on which the enemy reckoned, had been much exaggerated. Some hundred wretches, urged by the Venetian Government, massacred the sick at Verona, and some solitary Frenchmen on the highway; but there was a great difference between these outrages and a general strongly organized insurrection, gathering force from day to day and thirsting for revenge. The Venetian people were but little

attached to their government. The creation of a powerful republic in the midst of them inspired them with a desire of making a part of it; while a love for novelty made them shut their eyes on the sacrifices which revolutions require, and their vivid imagination had exaggerated the advantages they expected to reap from it. The friends of government were undoubtedly numerous, especially among persons in office and the priesthood, who cannot but lose in modern revolutions; but the mass of the people were strangers to their designs and their ambition. I have rather enlarged on the subject of this campaign, because I found in Paris, some time after, people who blamed it openly, notwithstanding its brilliant and solid result; but I was convinced that those reflections originated with the members of the Directory, who had been much less uneasy about the result of the conquest than dissatisfied with the haughty independence of General Bonaparte, who did not choose to submit to the plan traced out by Government. The



passage of the **River** by Hoche **and** Moreau was a powerful diversion which the conqueror of Italy had himself wished for; but that operation, **it** have been really advantageous, ought, in his opinion, to have been put into execution much earlier. A last consideration, and which **it** **in** itself **was** answer to **all** objections, **it** the intimate and convincing knowledge the General-in-chief had acquired of the dispositions of the ministers and persons who enjoyed decisive influence **on** the mind of the Emperor.

After the signature of the Treaty of Leoben, the army took up **its** position beyond the Tagliamento, and the General-in-chief came **to** Milan; but in his way he thought fit to punish the cruelties committed during the insurrection. He well knew that the insurrection had been prepared and directed by the Government of Venice; and he **had** acquired proofs that it **was** concerted with the enemy, and in **all** instances. But Bonaparte's revenge was one of an **able** politician. Austria had a great wish to get Venice into her possession. Bonaparte destroy-

ed the government, and was enabled, by that means, to offer them rich prey as a compensation in the negotiation. It was accepted, without blushing, by a government which hesitated in making its friends pay for faults caused by its own misconduct.

In the mean while a circumstance happened at Genoa, that strongly fixed the General's attention. The government of that small republic had refused to admit any of our squadrons into its ports. The English party, that was uppermost in the councils of Genoa, had stirred up a riot among the rabble; a Frenchman had been killed, and the frigate *La Modeste* had been burned. Such acts of violence required a speedy and energetic repression; but General Bonaparte wished that the punishment might not be inflicted by the French government. French emissaries, sent from Paris, had been instructed to obtain, by all possible means, the union of Genoa with France. This was, however, the opinion of General Bonaparte. It would have caused a renewal of painful discus-

sions with the Austrians, at the very moment when the treaty was being put into execution. Besides, the Italian army derived considerable advantages from the Genoese republic. In consequence, General Bonaparte thought fit to send ■■■ to Genoa, with precise instructions, and ■■■ order to deliver to the Doge, in full senate, the letter he addressed to him, giving him no more than four-and-twenty hours to execute the measures of which I ■■■ the bearer. My entrance into the city caused great anxiety, and the approach of ■ terrible though unknown danger made the magistrate, in whose hands the care of the public reposed, feel that the republic ■■■ irretrievably lost, ■ any fresh outrages were committed in the presence of an aide-de-camp of General Bonaparte. The people became calm, ■ ■ by enchantment. M. Faypoult, the French ambassador, ■■■ greatly dispirited; and when I declared to him that the orders of the General-in-chief were, that I should deliver my letter to ■■■ Doge in full senate, ■■■ recoiled ■■■ alarm, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■

no instance of a stranger ever having entered the Petty Council presided by the Doge. I replied, that there was no instance either of an order of General Bonaparte not being executed, and that he would immediately to acquaint the Doge of my arrival; that in an hour's time I would go to the palace of the Senate; that I had nothing to do with the forms of the Republic, but to do for the peril I might run in executing the orders of my chief. Half an hour afterwards I was informed that I might enter the palace. When I entered the hall, anger and consternation were visible on the features of all the members of the Council. After having delivered my letter, and required the execution of the orders it contained within four-and-twenty hours, I retired; and the agitation was so strong in the Assembly, that I heard a powerful voice repeating the words: "Ci batteremo," (We will fight.) However, they did not fight. Three months were

Despatches were sent to the General-in-chief.

A provisional government was instituted, and a commission chosen to modify the Genoese constitution. Anxiety, agitation, and fear carried to the highest pitch. I thought I should be able to get off the next day, when a vessel that entered the port gave rise to a feeling of uneasiness. It had on board Madame Bonaparte, (the General's mother,) with two of her daughters, afterwards known as Queen of Naples, and Grand Duchess of Tuscany,—and M. Bacciochi, newly married. These ladies had not seen the General-in-chief for several years. They had come from Marseilles, fancying that Italy was tranquil. General Bonaparte had not received the letter in which they acquainted him with their arrival. No measures had been taken,—no orders given; the riots might perhaps begin anew, and they might be victims to popular fury. My first thought was, to remain with them, and to collect every means of defence, in case they should be attacked. But Madame Bonaparte was a woman of great sense and courage. “I have nothing to fear in this

place," she said; "since my ■■■ ■■■ ■■ hostages the ■■■■ considerable persons of the Republic. Go quickly and acquaint him with my arrival. To-morrow I shall continue my journey." I followed her advice, merely taking the precaution of ordering ■■■■ detachments of cavalry I found in my way to go to meet them. They arrived without accident the next day ■■ Milan.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Embarrassed conduct of the Directory.—Meditated coup d'état.—General Bonaparte sends ■■■ ■■ Paris.—His Instructions.—I transmit ■■ him the result of my observations.—Madame de Stael.—The 18th of Fructidor.—My return ■■ Italy.

WHILE France and her armies were at ■■■ enjoying the repose bought by such heroic ■■■■ tions, Government betrayed, by its internal dissensions, the fatal secret of its weakness and incapacity. The enlightened part of the ■■■■ try had soon become sensible that ■■■ Directory would never obtain any but a temporary and stormy existence. Besides, the impossibility of preserving perfect harmony between five persons, possessing power in common, while they ■■■■ swayed by ■■■■ passions, prejudices, and characters, ■■■■ easy to ■■■ con-

vinced that the concentration of power in a few hands, being an homage paid to monarchy, would recall too many recollections, and too much regret for the old form of government, not to tempt its adherents to make efforts in its favour. In the eyes of the Royalists, the Directory was then only a monarchy. They hoped that it would be short; and their wishes, inflamed by the expectation of success, made them bold. For the first time, they combined a reasonable plan by addressing themselves to the passions of their foes, and to ambition so ardent in its calculation. The Constitution of the Year III. had created two councils,—one called the “Council of Five Hundred,” and the other the “Council of Ancients.” Among the persons composing them were still many members of the Convention, who could not bear the idea of the return of the Bourbons; but among them also some old constitutionalists, who united their exertions and wishes for the establishment of a representative monarchy. The greatest part



among them were men of merit. All had been persecuted by the Committee of Public Safety. The members of the Directory had been all chosen out of the Convention, and the majority of them had voted for the death of the King. These were the titles to recommend them to the confidence of the people, and much less that of the Constitutionals. This difference between the conduct and the opinions of Government, and a part of the Chambers, soon created an animosity, which betrayed itself in all their mutual concerns. Perhaps, however, it would not have brought on a catastrophe, if one of our most celebrated generals had not entered the Council of Five Hundred, already resolved to carry into execution a conspiracy in favour of the Bourbons.

Pichegru had long conceived that fatal design a long time before. I was told by General Lahorie, who accompanied him to Paris when the Convention summoned the Conqueror of Holland to her aid, to crush the Jacobins, that when he left the metropolis after the fall of

the 12th Germinal, Pichegru lost an opportunity of showing his contempt for that Assembly,—contempt so great, that he grew angry at the thought of the praises and honours which had been lavished on him. Such were his ideas when he took the command of the Rhine army, and soon after began correspondence with the Prince of Condé. It could not remain long a secret: the Prince wavered, asked advice, and solicited orders of the Count de Lille. This hesitation, these numerous letters, let many people into the secret, that authentic papers were alone wanted to establish complete evidence of the plot. Those papers were found. Count d'Entraigues, a fiery and active-minded emigrant, though not very prudent, was one of the agents of the correspondence. He was attached to the Russian Legation which had been in the former government of Venice, and he remained in that city, thinking himself safe in his foreign regimentals. The General-in-chief had him arrested. A great part of the correspondence

seized his papers, and the Directory.

A government that felt itself strong enough to be just, would have the traitor arrested, and the laws would have decided. But the Directory considered that Pichegru was protected by eminent services, by great reputation, title of Deputy, and the support of a whole party. The examination of the plot proved, besides, that if General Moreau had not taken a direct part in it, he had at least known of it. When he learned that Government was acquainted with it, he hastened to disclose it; but this tardy disclosure, instead of destroying suspicion, confirmed it. that, other respectable names might be exposed. All these considerations made Government fear legal proceedings, the publicity and final result of which might too probably prove its members; that deemed preferable to involve in one common destruction, by a "coup d'état," private of Government those who had betrayed the Republic.

General Bonaparte followed attentively the progress of these sad dissensions. In the heat of the debates of the Council of Five Hundred, some aspersions had been directed against his lieutenants, and even against himself. He was proudly repelled them; but on maturer thought, he resolved to send to Paris some one who could obtain exact information on the situation of affairs, and I was chosen for that mission. "Mix with every body," he said; "do not let yourself be led away by party spirit; tell me the truth, and tell it me free from all passion."

I arrived in Paris in the month of May. The five members of Government were, at that time, Barras, Rewbell, Carnot, La Reveilliere Lépaux, and Barthelemy. The first four had been members of the Convention; and although none of them had been famous during the reign of Terror for any atrocious act, still the three who voted the death of the King,—a vote which, notwithstanding the fatal though powerful consideration that may be presented in

alleviation, placed them among the ~~most~~ furious Jacobins, and was prejudicial to the respect with which they ought to have been invested. The people bore impatiently the yoke of men who recalled ~~to~~ their minds such fatal events ; ~~and~~ they were especially ~~united~~ by the Constitutionalists of 1791, who reproached them ~~as~~ once with the destruction of their edifice, and the persecutions which had so long weighed upon them.

When I arrived, the contest ~~was~~ violent, and the antagonists of Government made no ~~secret~~ of their wish to overthrow the majority. My ~~first~~ visit ~~was~~ to Barras, who seemed to have preserved favourable sentiments for General Bonaparte, and who expressed to me a wish ~~to~~ maintain the friendship which had ~~so~~ long united them. After him I ~~saw~~ Carnot, who spoke to me with ~~a~~ ~~command~~ commanded by the intimate connexion of General Bonaparte with ~~himself~~. A difference of systems ~~and~~ views ~~on~~ ~~these~~ points of Government had created between these two Directors an animosity

which betrayed itself in invectives and threats, that left no opening for reconciliation. Carnot, however, expressed himself with candour. "It is impossible," he said, "to go any longer on the revolutionary road. If a lasting system of moderation be not adopted, all is lost. France feels horror for whatever brings to mind the deplorable situation to which the necessity of saving her has carried the country. The public mind is irritated, and unless great care be taken, the effect will be to involve us again in a confusion, out of which we shall be extricated only to bend under the yoke of the Bourbons. The faction against which I am struggling does not blush to charge us with being a royalist; and nevertheless, nobody is more convinced than I am of Pichegru's treason, and the necessity of punishing him; but they want to govern France as they would a club. Narrow views, passionate factious spirit, the prejudices of ignorance and fear, suspicious and blind, preside over all our acts: they prefer violence that irritates,

while moderation and firmness would be sufficient to smooth every thing. My situation is painful; for I am forced to associate with a party in which, exclusive of Pichegru, there are men to whom I am obnoxious, who perhaps conspire with him, and who will ruin the Republic, without obtaining the secret aim of their endeavours. I have tried," he added, "to reclaim Pichegru; I was not personally acquainted with him; but the conversation I had with him convinced me that he is cleverer than I thought, and that he has taken his final resolutions. I do not know what are his means of execution, now that he is no longer with the army; but whatever they may be, they will miscarry when opposed by the firm vigilance of Government, or by public opinion, which is strongly declared against the Bourbons."

This conversation, of which I have only recorded the most remarkable parts, was the only one I had with Carnot. The house of Carnot was open to me, and I went there so often that Carnot could not but repose upon me as a man

entirely devoted ■ the party of that Director :  
■ ■ ■ however not ■ All ■ speeches breath-  
ed hatred and vengeance. A month before  
the catastrophe took place, it was secretly re-  
solved to make it terrible, and the victims were  
marked out. My position and my duty for-  
bade me taking any part in the contest, but I  
wrote the truth to General Bonaparte. I ob-  
served that he would tarnish his glory if he  
gave any support to ■ of violence, which the  
situation of Government did not justify ; that  
nobody would pardon him if he joined the  
Directory in their plan to overthrow the con-  
stitution and liberty ; that proscriptions ■  
about to take place against the national re-  
presentation, and against citizens whose virtues  
made them worthy of respect ; that punish-  
ments would be inflicted without trial, and  
■ the hatred resulting from such measures,  
would extend not only to the Directory, but  
to ■ whole system of republican government.  
Besides, it was not certain that the party they  
were going ■ proscribe, really wished the re-



turn of the Bourbons; and in any case the legal punishment and banishment of Pichegru would be sufficient to destroy any plans of that sort. These considerations made so much impression on the mind of General Bonaparte, that he soon avoided, in his correspondence with the Directory, all allusion to the interior situation of France, and at last left me writing to them altogether. His long silence appeared strange to Barras, who however easily guessed the cause of it. He continued seeing me; but I perceived by his gravity, and the insidious questions of his favourites, that he suspected me of not being his friend. I then loved equivocal situations, and I hastened to get out of the one I was in by candidly declaring my sentiments to some of his confidants. "I know enough," I said, "of the plans of Government to hurt them if I were to acquaint their friends with what I do know: it would however be an act of treason, of which you know I am incapable. But, as a citizen and an honest man, I cannot dissemble that I do not approve

of the *coup d'état* that is meditating: you are going to trample ■ laws and liberty. Such ■ system of violence will ■ or later recoil on your own heads. After having toiled and suffered ten years to obtain ■ representative government, it is distressing to reap nothing but tyranny, ■ the convulsions of ■ chy." He answered me by ■ commonplace observations on the necessity of striking a great blow ■ ■ faction ■ wanted to overthrow the Republic. Barras, to whom this ■ tion ■ reported, according to my intention, thought it requisite to dissemble: he did not ■ me ill, but he had ■ watched with ■ vigilance that extended ■ ■ my correspondence with General Bonaparte. My letters to him were written in ciphers; and that proof of mystery and mistrust, by augmenting their suspicions, contributed perhaps to hasten the catastrophe, through the fear that Bonaparte might take ■ resolution that would perplex the Directory.

I may here briefly describe ■ different mem-

bers of the Directorial government, whose existence was short, though its operations had so much influence on the destinies of France and the affairs of Europe.

Barras, who then discharged the functions of president, was descended from one of the most ancient families of Provence. A liberal disposition, and the wish to advance rapidly in the military career, induced him to go to India, where he served in a colonial regiment. Having returned to France in 1789, he declared himself in favour of the Revolution, in which however he obtained no celebrity. Nature had refused him those qualifications which ensure success to an orator, but he had a great deal of resolution; and his conduct at the fall of Robespierre, by bringing upon him the hatred of the Jacobins, gave him a share in the gratitude all France felt for those who had contributed to the destruction of their horrible tyranny.

At the period I am now speaking of, Barras was the most violent of the three members of the Directory who wished for an alteration in

the councils. His ~~name~~ of Carnot ~~was~~ so strong, that ~~a~~ few days before the 18th Fructidor, one of his confidants, to whom I made the observation that Carnot would undoubtedly find ~~means~~ of escaping from persecution, answered, "~~He~~ will ~~kill~~ him." He had continually in his mouth the most insulting expressions against those whom he suspected of being royalists. On the other hand, how is it possible to reconcile that hatred of the Bourbons and their friends, with the revelations published by Fauche Borel since the restoration, and which Barras never denied. The above-mentioned agent of Louis XVIII. has asserted that the Director had consented to the plan of the Count of Lille to bring about a Royalist revolution; that ~~a~~ formal pardon had been sent to him, and an amnesty for ~~his~~ vote in the trial of the late King; finally, that several millions had been promised him to make up for the loss of his rank as Director. If the ~~assertion~~ of Fauche Borel be true, the animosity of ~~the~~ against the Royalist party can only be

explained by the impossibility, in which he found himself, of accomplishing his promises, by his grief at being obliged to share the glory and the profit of a restoration with persons whom he detested, and whose reputation and talents would offer the King better pledges than he could present. The conduct of Napoleon, in regard to Barras during his reign, may also be explained by the knowledge he had acquired of his treason.

Rewbell, the second Director, was a lawyer from Alsatia: his name will hold but a trivial place in history. He was at that time accused of amassing his fortune with a system that might have procured him immense wealth; however, that charge has since been disproved in the clearest manner. After living fifteen years in obscurity, Rewbell in a short time was leaving a very middling fortune.

The third Director was named La Reveillere Lepaux: he also was a lawyer. A reputation for unsullied integrity and talent, proclaimed by four committees, had made him be regarded as a man

capable of governing the state. Carnot has used him very ill in [redacted] of [redacted] works. I believe there is a great [redacted] of exaggeration in that picture, which is traced by resentment; several features of it, however, approach very [redacted] to the truth. His friends and his valets used to call him [redacted] *good soul*, (*le bon homme*), and he wept for joy when on the 18th Fructidor he heard that thirty legislators [redacted] to be transported to the burning sands of Cayenne. As a philosopher, he [redacted] at the head of a sect, and the Theophilanthropy which he sought to propagate [redacted] nothing more than pure deism. He used to lay offerings of flowers on his altars, while poor Christian priests under his government expiated the crime of teaching their religion in dark and solitary dungeons.

The only [redacted] in the council who deserved his high station, and who enjoyed undisputed respect, [redacted] Carnot. At that period he [redacted] not yet completely displayed the inflexibility of conscience and the wonderful disinterestedness [redacted] have made him hitherto inaccessible both

to the seduction and the threats and verity of power; but those who approached him admired in him a dignity of character combined with virtue and vast information, entirely devoted to support the liberty and independence of his country. The turn of his mind, and the unshaken firmness of his soul, inspired him with a predilection for a republican government, which experience does not seem to have weakened. Being himself a stranger to all the mean passions that animate and maintain society, he did not calculate the corruption and the vanity of his countrymen. A republic being in his eyes the best of all governments, he thought nothing appeared too difficult for its preservation, nor perhaps nothing too to insure its triumph. This austere republican however a good and amiable in the bosom of his family, he indulgent to weakness and His enemies themselves did not confound him with his cruel colleagues of the Convention. At the period I speaking of, he struggled to alleviate the

situation of the emigrants and insure the tranquillity of their families: he resisted all oppressive measures, and wanted to establish the prosperity of the state on good laws, and the benefits of peace.

The ministers who formed the cabinet under this *Pentarchy* have not been able to escape oblivion, with the exception of ■■■ whose name will be recorded in history on account of the variety of parts he has acted. M. de Talleyrand left France in 1792, as Bishop of Autun; he returned in 1796 a republican, and with all the docile modesty of a disgraced man who wishes to return to favour. He possessed a remarkable degree of talent, which was much praised by his friends. He had however not yet attained the fame he afterwards enjoyed, ■ one of the most clever diplomatists of Europe. In that respect the Directory ■■■ not in want of ■■■ services. Numerous and important treaties had been signed by obscure persons, and ■■■ not the ■■■ for that. But the vanity of the Directors ■■■ flattered ■ having under their



orders a man who had formerly been a *grand seigneur*, who had given more than a pledge to the Revolution, had lost the right of complaining of its excesses, having himself professed all its principles, and whose suppleness of character insured his obedience. He possessed, besides, considerable advantages over his predecessor, and over his masters—I mean his connexion with influential men in foreign countries, a strong taste for politics, and the perfect polish of manners. Notwithstanding their rude republican pride, the Directors were sensible that, in their negotiations with foreign courts, a man of birth belonging to the old monarchy might be of use to them.

When M. de Talleyrand entered the ministry, dissension was at its greatest violence. He gently discarded his old friends who were struggling in the councils against the majority of the Directory, by feigning to believe that they wished for the return of the Bourbons, and he remained a cool spectator of their discomfiture. The chief point he had in view was to

keep his place and re-establish his fortune, which had been destroyed by former disorders public events. He quickly obtained his aim, from which nothing could divert him, neither the clamour raised by his enemies, nor the reproaches of his masters, to which he constantly opposed a calm, patient, and, I may almost say, a careless resignation. I have witnessed some instances of it, and I felt that ambition cannot fail to create disgust when bought at such a price. He lived on a footing of intimacy with Madame de Stael, already celebrated for her superior mind, and a passion for fame, united to kindness of heart that has not been sufficiently appreciated. To say the truth, it was a little her own fault. I was convinced that she could not foresee the cruel proscriptions that oppressed the vanquished party; but I certainly never witnessed so much warmth of persecution. She undoubtedly saw nothing more in the struggle than the triumph of her political opinions,—I should rather say feelings; but it must be acknowledged, in the absence of all

reflection could alone have led her to embrace so openly the part of men who trampled on liberty and national representation, the two cherished objects of her worship. All that time she carried to enthusiasm her admiration of General Bonaparte. I saw her for the first time at de Talleyrand's. During dinner, the praises she lavished on the Conqueror of Italy had all the wildness, romance, and exaggeration of poetry. When we left the table, the company withdrew to a small room to look at the portrait of the hero; and as I stepped back to let her walk in, she said: "How shall I dare to pass before an aide-de-camp of Bonaparte?" My confusion was so great, that she also felt a little of it, and soonest himself laughed at me. I went to see her next morning. Her reception was kind enough to make me return often to her house; and I do affirm that her lively imagination and her incredible activity continued unceasingly the same up to the catastrophe. Nothing before her eyes but the counter-revolution, the return

of the Bourbons, the revenge of the emigrants, and the loss of liberty.

The *denouement* grew at last inevitable. The rage of the several parties had reached its greatest height. The journals, pamphlets, and posted bills contained the most violent provocations. The Constitution not having left the Directory space enough for defence, it resolved to overthrow all barriers. Still, there was wanted a celebrated general to put the plan into execution. Augereau came to their assistance. The day before he arrived from Italy, I received a letter from General Bonaparte, in which he said: "Augereau is going to Paris. Place confidence in him. He has brought confusion into the army: he has a factious spirit." When I returned to Italy, I learned that the misunderstanding between the general and the officers of the two divisions of Augereau and Bernadotte had extended to the private soldiers, and that they taxed each other mutually with being Jacobins and Royalists. General Augereau had openly declared

for the majority of the Directory : Barras, who reckoned upon him, called him to Paris and gave him the military command.

Government, being once certain of the support of the General, marked out their victims ; and in the night of the 17th Fructidor, orders to arrest them were delivered. As they might have escaped in the night, it was resolved to wait till daybreak, and by a wretched contrivance, worthy of a melo-drama, this outrage was immediately announced by the discharge of a four-and-twenty pounder from the platform of the Pont Neuf. The explosion broke all the windows in the neighbourhood, and spread dismay through the city. At eight o'clock in the morning the Director, Barthelemy, thirty members of the two Councils, and several writers, were taken to prison. A few days afterwards, a part of France witnessed their representatives dragged along, in trelliced carts, like wild beasts. They were taken to Rochefort, and from thence to Guyenne, where the unwholesome climate proved fatal to some of these unhappy

men. Several of the victims succeeded in escaping. Carnot found a refuge in the house of M. \*\*\*, one of the warmest advocates of the Republic. But he was the countryman and friend of the Director, and his generous efforts found it difficult to conciliate the duties of friendship with the passion of party spirit.

I had passed the evening of the 17th with Barras. The ill-disguised agitation of the courtiers, and the words which I caught *en passant*, taught me the secret of the night. I retired early, resolved not to show myself the next day, as I did not wish to lead any one to suppose by my presence that General Bonaparte approved of such unheard-of violence. I went however to Barras the day after. As soon as he perceived me, he called me to his closet; and then assuming a threatening look and tone of voice, he said: "You have betrayed the Republic and your General. For the six weeks, Government has received no private letters from him. Your opinions on what is going forward are known to all, and you have

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undoubtedly painted our conduct under the odious colours. I declare to you, last night the Directory whether you ought not share the fate of the conspirators that the road to Guyenne. Out of consideration for General Bonaparte, you shall remain free; but I have just sent my secretary to explain to him what has happened, and your conduct." I answered very coolly: "You have been deceived. I betrayed any person! The events of the 18th calamitous. Nobody shall ever persuade me that Government has a right to punish representatives of the people without trial, and in contempt of the laws. I have not written any thing else for the last six weeks; and if you wish to ascertain the fact, here is the key of my bureau: have my papers seized; their examination will my false with confusion." This moderate firm reply, but especially my proposal, pacified him. tried to begin an explanation, but I retired. When I returned home, I burned my correspondence:

it might have exposed my General, and consequently I could not hesitate. When that was done, I sent off, by express, an officer of the gendarmerie who was at Paris, to acquaint the General with all that had happened; and not wishing that my sudden departure should be attributed to fear, I remained eight days longer in town. I went, however, to General Augereau to inquire whether he had any commission to give me. Since he had been in Paris he was like a statue beside himself. He spoke to me of the General-in-chief with a great deal of flippancy, and of the 18th of Fructidor with more enthusiasm than he would have done of the battle of Arcole. "Do you know," he said, "that you deserve to be shot for your behaviour?—but you need not be uneasy, and you may rely on me." I thanked him with a smile; but I felt it would be useless to put his kindness to proof, and the next day I set out for Italy.



## CHAPTER XIV.

My  Paris after the 18th Fructidor.—First  of the Expedition to Egypt—Its motives—Its aim.—Mission of  Pousseilgues to Malta.

I LEFT Paris  the 1<sup>st</sup> Vendemiaire, just  the Directory, the Ministers, and all the constituted authorities, were going to the Champ de Mars to celebrate the new year, according to  custom of the time. The President of the Government walked up to the altar of the country and made  speech, in which, among great praise bestowed on the armies,  frequently introduced threatening insinuations against the enemies of Government, and abuse against the Sovereigns at  with the Republic. It was under the canopy of Heaven,  in presence of  Supreme Being, (to use the then fashionable expression,)  those

sermons ■■■■ preached before the multitude, which never failed to be very ■■■■■■ if the weather happened to be fine.

I ■■■■ very anxious to be ■■ the other side of the Alps, that I might know what the General-in-chief thought of my conduct. At the passage of Mont Cenis, I met ■■ aide-de-camp of General Augereau, called Deverine, who ■■■■ returning dismayed with the harsh reception he had met with from General Bonaparte, and who acquainted me with his misfortune. ■■■■ had been sent to Italy by his general, ■ few days after the 18th Fructidor, to claim from the paymaster of the army 600,000 francs, which were not owing to him, and which he thought no ■■■■ would dare to refuse him. The same officer ■■■■ also the bearer of copies of Clarke's secret correspondence with Carnot, from the time of his entrance into Italy. The generals of the army to whom Augereau ■■■■ copies of those letters were very much abused in ■■■■ by the military diplomatist, and the General-in-chief ■■■■ even attacked in his pri-

character. Enraged against Clarke, they thought it to deliver into the hands of their chief these abusive letters, without dissembling their contempt for a man they had never met in their ranks. General Bonaparte, having heard of the demand for money made by the paymaster of the army, ordered him not to pay it; and having sent for the poor aide-de-camp, he gave him a severe reprimand, and sent him back to Paris as quick as he could. The young man was extremely grieved at his adventure, and bestowed many imprecations on Augereau for having exposed him by such a ridiculous message.

This little accident gave me some insight into General Bonaparte's disposition, and I hurried the man to rejoin him.

I was entering the long avenue leading to the castle of Passeriano, when I perceived Clarke, who stopped my carriage. The Directory had deprived him of his diplomatic mission, and dismissed him as a general at half-pay. "I am in the most wretched condition,"

■ said ■ me, "but you may still be of service to me. Do not speak of the Directory's being incensed against me, and mention my dismissal ■■ natural consequence of the ■■ of Carnot. By that ■■■ General Bonaparte will keep me with him. He knows the secret of what I wrote against the generals; he'll silence them." Clarke ■■ unfortunate. I had been long ■■ acquainted with him; ■ I gave him my word that I would serve him. The thing ■■ not altogether very difficult: the General-in-chief ■■ a liking for him; the Directory forgot him, and did not insist ■ his leaving the army.

I had scarcely arrived at the castle, when General Bonaparte sent for me into the garden, and there continued questioning me during four hours. My correspondence had acquainted him with all the particulars of the event; but I ■■ still obliged to describe the hesitations, ■■ of passion, and almost every gesture of the principal actors. His opinion had been long fixed respecting the different members of the Directory, and even the nature of the Go-

vernment itself. "But," he, "with such rude forms, why much weakness? Why then so much temerity when firmness would have been sufficient? There cowardice in not daring to put Pichegru on his trial. His was obvious, and the witnesses than sufficient to convict him. At best, if the High Court had acquitted him, he would nevertheless have been dishonoured in the face of the army and France. Force is good when one cannot do otherwise; but when is free to choose, justice is better." Then, according to custom, he continued for a long while walking about in silence. At last he added, on taking leave of me: "All things well considered, this Revolution will prove a vigorous stroke to the nation." When he turned the castle, he sent for Botteau, the secretary to Barras; a long conversation with him, and sent back in the course of night.

A few days afterwards, Bernadotte returned from Paris. I soon perceived that he re-

presented events under a ■■■■ favourable light for Government than ■ had; but through all the particulars he mentioned, his ■■■■ animadversions ■■ the War Department, and his conjectures on the renewal of hostilities, General Bonaparte had ■■ difficulty in penetrating his ambition and his designs. The Directory had loaded him with praises; the Ministry of the War Department had been promised him; and when, ■ short time after, the General-in-chief learned the nomination of General Augereau to the command of the Army of the Rhine, he felt that with so weak ■ companion, and so ambitious ■ minister, it would be impossible for him to advance freely and to obtain glorious results. Peace was consequently ■■ solved on in his mind. ■ ■■ far from doubting that considerations of ■ ■■■■ elevated nature, and especially the wish to give peace ■ France, then sinking under the burthen of her sacrifices, swayed his resolution; but ■■■■ ■■■■ tainly the choice of those two ■■■■ contributed greatly ■■ fix it.

During the long unoccupied days that the diplomatic debates afforded him, the General-in-chief used ■ pass ■ part of his evenings with the learned Monge, whom he had summoned ■ his person. Among the varied and instructive conversations which delighted the General-in-chief, the plan of conquering Egypt, so often presented to the Ministry in the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. ■ discussed. The General, who always went to the bottom of every thing, wished to read all that had been written ■ the subject. Monge, having held for some time the portfolio of the Marine Department, ■ enabled to procure him quickly all the most interesting papers. The ■ that had been proposed appeared faulty to the General-in-chief; but the fertility of his mind made him discover the advantages he might derive from his position, to lay down a plan easier of execution and better in its result. It ■ probable that the idea was ■ that very moment communicated to the Directory; for, soon after, the first germs of its execution be-

gan secretly to develop themselves. M. Pousseilgues, late Chief Clerk of the Treasury, ■■■ that time Secretary of the French Legation ■■ Genoa. This gentleman had several relations, merchants, at Malta. He ■■■ called to the head-quarters, and from thence he went to Malta. His mission was to sound the disposition of the Government, and of the French knights, to get well acquainted with the spirit of the people, and to ascertain what ■■■ the means of subsistence, or the obstacles to be expected. Finally, he was to do his utmost to send to the head-quarters some of the Knights of Malta whom Bonaparte might have known at the military school. This mission was executed with great secrecy and intelligence; and during Pousseilgues' absence, ■■■ cret efforts in furtherance of the object advanced rapidly. To ■■■ curiosity astray, the General spoke of ■ journey he proposed to make after the peace was concluded. He ■■■ he intended to go ■ Germany and the North of Europe with his wife, Monge, Generals



Berthier and Marmont. I was destined to accompany Eugene Beauharnois, who at that time was less than seventeen years of age. General Bonaparte diverted himself with setting up a plan of studies and observations, of which we were to give an account at the different places where we were to meet. That plan was the more reasonable, as General Bonaparte could scarcely live at rest in France, if peace lasted any time. He would not have been able to avoid the clashing of the different factions, and would perhaps have been forced to take part in the measures they would have attempted, with a view to triumph. The Directory was afraid of him; his glory was annoying; his influence the enemy could not fail to be immense. On the other hand, he was too young to have a place in the Directory, and the idea of being the minister of Barras and La Reveillere Lépaux was not to be borne.

All these reflections determined him to make peace, notwithstanding the contrary orders of the Directory. Misunderstanding and dissa-

tisfaction showed themselves in all the letters he addressed to the Government. His unpublished correspondence contains three of those letters, in which his ill-humour is displayed with a degree of energy and pride that made the Directory tremble, and was the source of the hatred which in course of time brought on the 18th Brumaire. The Directory did not wish to sacrifice Venice to Austria: General Bonaparte wanted to retain Mantua; and his instructions did not prescribe absolutely that he should not abandon Venice, he took upon himself to sign, on the 4th Vendemiaire, (25th September,) the treaty of Passeriano, well convinced that Government would not dare to express discontent openly; and that France, rejoiced at peace, would overrule with her applause the objections of the General's enemies. According to his calculations, the courier of the Directory was to arrive at Passeriano the very day fixed for the signature. Bonaparte was reckoning with the distance the courier had to go, and the hour he might arrive; and he candidly

knowledge the perplexity he would be in, if he received from Government an order not to go any farther. Recollecting afterwards with disgust the slow march of Moreau in Germany, a few months before, while he was at Leoben; and the appointment of Augereau to the command of the Rhine army, instead of Desaix, whom he had recommended in the most pressing manner, he added, in a tone of much ill-humour, "I am very well that they are preparing defeats for me. That man (meaning Augereau) is incapable of conceiving an extensive plan. He will get beaten, or will not advance at all; all the Austrian forces will then fall upon me, and my beloved Italy will be the grave of the French army." He then questioned me as to the disposition of that part of France through which I had travelled, and I assured him that peace would be received with enthusiasm; that the people would bestow blessings on him, and that public happiness would be his work.

At last, on the 11th of Vendemiaire, the ministers of Austria were called to Passeriano,

and the secretaries of the two Legations made copies of the treaty. The business lasted the whole day. The General was delightfully merry. No discussions! He remained a part of the day in the saloon, and would not have the candles lighted when it grew dark. We sat talking and telling another ghost stories, like a family living in an old castle. At last, at about ten o'clock at night, he was told that all was ready. He ran to his closet, cheerfully signed the document, and at midnight General Berthier, the bearer of the treaty, was on the road to Paris. Twelve hours afterwards, the courier of the Directory arrived. The orders were positive; and if they had come to hand the day before, the treaty would not have been signed. The next day the General-in-chief wrote to the Directory, expressing his wish to leave Italy, and to return to France to enjoy a little repose; but it was absolutely necessary first to organize the Cisalpine Republic; to take prudential measures against the Pope and the King of Naples, who showed the most

hostile intentions. A squadron, with troops, had been sent to Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, to take possession of these Venetian islands, which had been given to France by the Treaty of Campo Formio, and the General did not think fit ■ leave Italy before he received ■ counts of their organizations.

In the mean while, M. Pousseilgues ■ beginning to give the required information respecting the disposition of the public mind at Malta. ■ had succeeded in sending to the General, M. N\*\*\*, his former schoolfellow at the military school, and who had been for several years ■ knight in the island. From his report, and the letters of M. Pousseilgues, it appeared that the Knights of the French tongue, receiving neither money ■ reward from their relations, and ■ duced to the most miserable shifts to live, would not stand much upon their fidelity to the Order; and that they would have ■ objection to leave the island, provided they got leave to return to France; that the Grand Master Hompesch, a man devoid of strength of mind, would probably

make no use of the means of defence he possessed in his military position, and the land and sea forces he had at his disposal. The persons who surrounded him had much influence over him, so much the more pernicious on account of the desire of both the English and the Russians to gain possession of the island. The Russian consul was a bold and active man, who frightened the Government by his threats, and spread disorder and terror in the minds of every one. It was therefore of great consequence to General Bonaparte to take a resolution and show himself before the island with an imposing force, that might decide the Grand Master in favour of France. He resolved at last to leave Italy. He addressed a proclamation to the army, and left it under the command of General Kilmaine.

## CHAPTER XV.

Departure of General Bonaparte for Rastadt.—Murder of the Plenipotentiaries.

BONAPARTE crossed Switzerland, and went to Rastadt: his travelling companions were, Generals Marmont, Duroc, myself, his secretary Bourrienne, and Ivan his physician. The only place ■ which he stopped was Geneva, where the Directory ■■ already beginning, by underhand manœuvres, to augment the number of its adherents, who ■■■ one day to effect the union of that Republic with France. Carnot had sought refuge in that city, and General Bonaparte privately sent him advice to leave it as ■■■ as possible, ■ ■ to prevent ■ persecution he ■■■ ■ able to prevent.

M. Necker then living his [REDACTED] Coppet, near Geneva. He still looked upon himself [REDACTED] a great man, and flattered himself that the Conqueror of Italy would pay him a visit. I do not know what [REDACTED] that time General Bonaparte's opinion of the financial talents of the late Minister of Louis XVI.; but I am [REDACTED] he had but little esteem for his personal character, and had positively declared his disapprobation of the Sovereign's choice of [REDACTED] minister for France. We had a great desire to go with him and [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] that Voltaire had celebrated in the latter part of his life; but the General-in-chief had also [REDACTED] grudge against Voltaire. He therefore thought fit not to make either of the two pilgrimages. We crossed Switzerland without stopping any where. However, his carriage having broken down [REDACTED] a league from Morat, [REDACTED] travelled that part of the way on foot. Though it was no more than seven o'clock in the morning, the road was covered with people, and especially women, who [REDACTED] passed the night



there, to get ■ peep ■ the Conqueror of Italy. When we arrived ■ the bone-house, where lie deposited the remains of the Burgundian soldiers killed in the famous battle of Morat, ■ found ■ General d'Erlac, of the celebrated family of that name, who ■ waiting for the General-in-chief, in the expectation that he would stop to ■ the monument. General Bonaparte not being in military uniform, the stranger, without knowing him, gave him all the particulars he could wish respecting the victory of the Swiss. After he ■ examined the military position, he only said, "Charles the Bold must have been a great madman!" This reflection, uttered in a firm tone, apprised M. d'Erlac that he ■ in the presence of the hero he had so much wished to ■ A respectful bow, and a compliment expressed with emotion, ■ the only homage he ■ enabled to pay him, for the General proceeded on his journey.

Two days afterwards ■ passed through Offembach, the head-quarters of Angereau, the General-in-chief of ■ army. General

Bonaparte stopped before his door, and sending him word that he was there, but in too great a hurry to get out of his carriage, he added, that he wished to see him for one moment. The lieutenant of the General-in-chief had however already begun to forget him, and his only answer was, that he was dressing. This unpoliteness was but repaired the next day, when he sent his aide-de-camp. Augereau's hatred of General Bonaparte augmented in proportion with his wrongs, and only ended with his life.

By the Treaty of Campo Formio it was agreed that a congress should assemble at Rastadt to treat of peace between the Empire and the French Republic. The choice of the place recalled to memory the celebrated period of 1707, when the Castle of Rastadt united its walls the Duke de Villars and Prince Eugène of Savoy. This time the Emperor did not think fit to be represented by any of his warriors. They were all of them beaten by the French. Count Metternich represented the Austrian Emperor, Count Latorbach,

the King of Bohemia ■■■ Hungary. Count Cobentzel came there with other negociators, who had signed the Treaty of Campo Formio. On the side of France there was M. Treilhard, late member of the Convention, who not only had voted for the death of the King, but who had even boasted at the time that it ■■■ he who had persuaded the Duke of Orleans to give the same vote. He ■■■ a very learned lawyer, and a man of rigid character. The criminal code was composed by him. ■■■ far from being eloquent, and had not even an easy style of elocution. He was ■■■ accompanied by M. Bonnier d'Arco, a harsh man, of a violent, and frequently untractable humour. These two plenipotentiaries ■■■ all but pleasing to the diplomatists covered with stars, and whose ancient ■■■ preceded by their high-sounding titles. The contrast was singular; for the two ambassadors of the Republic ■■■ any but round hats, and their shoes were fastened with strings; but the other nations were obliged to submit to the

French Republic, ■■■■ railleries to which these two gentlemen ■■■■ exposed were never expressed in their presence. The General-in-chief ■■■■ no desire to remain ■■ Rastadt. The obscure discussions of the negociation, and the artful finesse of the German chancery, would have been ■ sad recompense for the fatigue he had suffered in the army, and a still sadder one for his victories. Nothing therefore took place but mere form. Only ■■■■ remarkable circumstance happened during his short stay. The King of Sweden, in his quality of the Grand Duke of Pomerania, had sent to the Congress of Rastadt Count Fersen, formerly celebrated at the Court of France, and who had acted ■ conspicuous ■ part in the famous journey to Varennes. The hatred of his Sovereign for France was a well-known fact, and the Count could not be agreeable. He happened to express the fatal wish of ■■■■ being presented ■ the General. When he ■■■■ in ■■■■ presence, the latter said to him, "How could you expect, Sir, you could be able to serve the

interests of Sweden,—you who are only known by your affection for a government justly proscribed in France, and by your useless exertions for its re-establishment?” M. de Fersen replied by a few words which we did not hear. General Berthier, who was present, wishing to relieve him, recalled to his memory that they had fought together in America. By that means the ambassador retired a little less perplexed, and the next day he left Rastadt, whither he did not return until some time after.

Two days after this scene General Bonaparte set off for Paris, leaving me at the Congress with M. Perret, Secretary of the Legation at Campo Formio. “I cannot take you with me to Paris,” he said; “the Directory has not yet forgot your conduct on the 18th Fructidor, and this is not the moment for justifying yourself. I will make you amends for this hereafter. Remain here. Write me all you hear of the diplomatic gossip. You will find easily again the opportunity of gaining instruction. I leave with you some of my

vants, for I want people to think I shall soon come back."

His intention was not, however, to return to Rastadt. The difficulties brought in by the insinuations of M. de Thougeat every moment impeded the negotiations. After three months' debates, nothing was agreed on the manner of concluding. The deputies of the powers of the second order in Germany, a great many members of the immediate nobility, and the numerous and rich holders of livings, sought support from the King of Prussia, who had neither the will nor the power to protect them. Convinced of the hatred of the Emperor, and of his resolution to sacrifice them, the greater number amongst them sought another support by secret negotiations with the minister of France.

My position had become very difficult. I was detested by the members of the Directory, and consequently mistrusted by the plenipotentiaries of the Republic. I could not mention the real motive that kept me at Rastadt. My

presence ■ the Congress ■■ displeasing ■ Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier; ■■ the minis- ■■ of Germany, obliged by their position to offer ■ kind reception to the French who resided with them, looked upon ■■ ■ their representa- tive; and finding it less painful to have a con- nection with an officer who enjoyed the confi- dence of General Bonaparte, they bestowed ■■ ■ alone the attention they ought to have di- vided amongst us, and left nothing but cold ceremony for the others. Consequently, I ■■ continually in company with Count Cobentzel and the family of Metternich. But I took ■■ to acquaint General Bonaparte with my new position. ■■ approved of it, recommending me, however, to act with due discretion. I shall not repeat the particulars of what took place during five months in this small German town. Diplomatic prattle, debates, generally without result, grand dinners, and ennui, would by no ■■■ interest ■■ reader. However, he may possibly be glad ■■ know what I have since learned respecting the murder of the ple-

nipotentiaries of the Republic. These particulars were communicated to me by the Prince of Leiningen, and the Count of Solms Laubach, with whom I was very intimate. They were at Brussels on their own business, and showed in that catastrophe much courage and devotion for their unfortunate ministers.

These ministers had eagerly taken advantage of the secret proceedings of the ministers of the second and third rank and several members of the nobility of Germany. In hopes of being spared if the war broke out again, they promised to side with France. These secret dealings could not escape me, as, by the situation of my apartments in the castle, I frequently met the Secretaries of Legation of the small Princes of Germany sneaking in Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier's lodgings, which were not very distant from mine. When M. Roberjot was instead of M. Treilhard, those proceedings grew still more frequent. He had had several diplomatic missions; and his manners were more polite and attractive than those of his col-



leagues. Count Lehrbach, a man of determined character, full of energy, a sworn enemy of France, undoubtedly soon acquainted with the disposition of the hidden foes of Austria. The more the negotiations advanced, the evident it appeared that the peace would not be of long standing; and the war was already secretly resolved, when the news came that General Bonaparte had embarked for the East, with some of the most able French generals, and thirty thousand of the best troops of the Republic. Count Lehrbach left Rastadt a short time before the commencement of hostilities, and it can scarcely be doubted but that it was he who induced the Austrian Cabinet to resolve to arrest the ministers of France.

A regiment of hussars of Szeckler, a regiment of pandiers, recruited from the frontiers of Turkey, already surrounded Rastadt, when the French ministers received an order to leave the place. The Baden commander of the town in vain advised them to depart off in the morning,

that they might the before night-fall. Their preparations caused delay: they were encumbered with papers they wished to keep, and they besides convinced that their sacred character of ambassadors would shelter them from insult. The day was advanced when they departed. At a few leagues from Rastadt they stopped and murdered. I am persuaded that the Austrian Government did not give an order for murdering them, but only for seizing their papers; while the soldiers, finding a great deal of money about them, urged by avarice, and probably intoxicated, thought the best way would be to stifle their complaints by murdering them.

I arrived at Paris about a month before my departure for Toulon.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations ■■■ departure of the Egyptian Expedition.—  
 Malta.—I am sent ■■ Corfu and Janina.—Return to  
 Egypt.

I SHALL speak hereafter of my marriage with Mademoiselle Emilie Beauharnais. The preparations of the Eastern expedition had been made very secretly. The Directory had not even entrusted to their clerks the task of copying the various orders that were to be transcribed, and the secret had been ■■ well kept ■■■ England in no way suspected our design, ■■■ could take any ■■■ to prevent it. Fourteen ships of the line were assembled ■■ Toulon. Each ship took only ■■■ ■■■ necessary number of ■■■ the ■■■ of the crews was composed of all ■■■ regiments of the army. Admiral Brueys com-

manded the fleet; and the officers who served under his orders, all full of ardour, had most of them already acquired reputation as clever

When the fleet of Toulon, troops who were embarked at Genoa, Ajaccio, and Cività Vecchia, had received orders to join the fleet before its arrival at Malta. I embarked on board the frigate *Artemisa*, which was a sort of aide-de-camp to the Admiral. The flotilla of General Desaix having come to the rendezvous, the *Artemisa* was sent on discovery. General Murat joined us; and when we were not far from Malta, he obliged the captain to give him a boat, that he might go down to the outward defences of Valetta. This was an act of imprudence: he was also guilty of another, which I shall mention, because it gives an idea of the character of that general. While cruising before Malta, the only man-of-war the Order possessed came up to us, wanting to get into the port. Murat made a signal for her to stand leeward of our frigate. This was contrary to custom: but

the captain of the ~~Maltese~~ ship being taken ~~in~~ and intimidated ~~by~~ sight of the tricoloured flag, obeyed the signal without hesitation; on his arrival he spread ~~the~~ alarm; and the city, which ~~was~~ might have ~~been~~ by surprise, ~~was~~ in a state of defence when ~~the~~ landed.

On the 10th of June the fleet at last appeared in sight of Malta. The aspect of ~~a~~ large ~~a~~ fleet, with four hundred transports and ~~a~~ formidable army, threw the Grand Master and his council into the greatest dismay, and spread confusion among the knights and inhabitants of the island. The disorder augmented, and a French knight had already been murdered by ~~the~~ populace of the city, when the General-in-chief ~~sent~~ his aide-de-camp, Junot, ~~to~~ summon the Grand Master to open the gates. The answer being that the Government was resolved to defend the place, ~~a~~ part of the army landed, ~~seized~~ ~~all~~ the ~~small~~ ~~islands~~ which ~~fringed~~ the shore, took possession of them, ~~and~~ soon after invested ~~the~~ town. The fortifi-

cations of Valetta consist of a ditch dug in the rock, the dimensions of which make an attack extremely difficult. It was quite impossible to open the trenches, as all the men together could not have procured us wood, nor stones enough to establish batteries and shelter from the fire of the fortress. Fortunately, the Grand Master was seized with fear. The Russian Consul had already required that the island should be delivered up to some Russian troops who were expected. The Grand Master, fancying that the Order of Malta was irretrievably lost, and forgetting that from one moment to another an English fleet might arrive and deliver him, resolved to sign a capitulation with General Bonaparte. The treaty was soon concluded; and, two days after our arrival, the army was master of the city and forts, and the fleet at anchor in the harbour of Valetta. General Caffarelli, on examining more minutely the fortifications, said to the General-in-chief—"It is very lucky for us that there were people in the place."

open the gates for us; for if ■ had been deserted, the army would never have got in, notwithstanding all ■ exertions." Next day the Grand Master and all his officers went on board of a brig, and I received orders to ■■■■■ duct them, with the frigate *Artemisa*, to the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf, that they might ■■■■■ fall into the hands of the Barbary corsairs, who would have considered them glorious trophies. Two days after ■■■■■ departure we met a Ragusan vessel, from whom we learned ■■■■■ had ■■■■■ in the morning an English fleet steering towards Malta. Fortunately the army and its chief ■■■■■ already gone ■■■■■ Our great fleet, with our four hundred transports, ■■■■■ during the night along the north ■■■■■ of Candia, while Nelson was waiting for ■■■■■ on ■■■■■ south.

It ■■■■■ long discussed in the fleet what would ■■■■■ been the result ■■■■■ Nelson ■■■■■ us. The military officers, ■■■■■ especially those who were on board the ships of ■■■■■ line, were ■■■■■ vinced that ■■■■■ should have beaten the English

fleet: General Bonaparte supported **me** opi-  
**on** by all the authority his name could **bring**  
**to** it. I must however acknowledge **that** I  
 never shared it. Four hundred transports,  
 the captains of which were but in a **small**  
 part Frenchmen, and which extended along all  
 points of the horizon, would quickly have been  
 dispersed by the English frigates. In spite of  
 all **our** exertions, we should have experienced  
 great losses. The Egyptian expedition would  
 no more have been practicable; but the army  
 might have thrown itself on the **coast** of Sicily,  
 and have made itself master of that island.  
 The cowardice of the Grand Master, and the  
 wretched defence of the Knights of Malta,  
**the** stroke of fortune that seemed to pro-  
 tect the destiny of the General-in-chief.

I had received an order to inspect the for-  
 tifications of Corfu, and the magazines with  
 which that city **was** provided.\* From thence  
**I** was **to** go and acquaint Ali, the Pacha of  
 Janina, with the conquest of Egypt, **and** try to

\* See Appendix, No. I.



persuade him, that ■ we remained ■■■ with the Grand Seignior, it ■■ his interest not to break with France. My mission was difficult and dangerous. We knew Ali Pacha for ■■■ incapable of keeping faith. ■■ ■■ then on ■ good understanding with the troops dispersed through the Ionian Islands, and the coast of that part of Greece over which he ■■■ the command; but ■ was certain ■ would abandon ■ and become our enemy ■ ■■ ■ his policy might show him any advantage ■ the other side. When I arrived ■ Corfu I met General Chabot, who asked me whether I ■■ the bearer of rich presents for Ali Pacha, and of a great deal of money to pave my way; for he added, "These are the best arguments you can make use of with him." These ■■■ precisely the things General Bonaparte had forgot. "But," ■■ he, "you need not be ■■ easy: the Pacha is on the Danube, fighting, much against ■ will, ■ Udin, with Paswan Ogla." This account took a great burden ■ my mind. ■ hastened ■ execute the other part of my mission, and got to Egypt.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Interview with Admiral Brueys on board the Orient.—My arrival in Cairo.—Mourad Bey—His intrepidity and firmness.—Oppressive government of the Mamelukes.—Battle of Salabieh.—The General receives the news of the loss of the battle of Aboukir.

AT a few leagues from Aboukir, whither I had received orders to go, the frigate I was on board of was chased by an English vessel that came to reconnoitre the fleet. This happened on the 21st of July. I went on board the Orient to see Admiral Brueys, the commander of the fleet. I had not expected to find the fleet moored in the roads of Aboukir. The following is word for word what the Admiral said to me: “When General Bonaparte left Alexandria to penetrate into the Desert, he gave me the choice either to enter the old

port of Alexandria, or to go with the fleet to Corfu, after having landed all the goods and provisions of the army. Since that moment I have received no account whatever from the army, nor its leader. I have sounded the passes of the port; but it can only be entered with a north-west wind, and by boats: this has taken up much time, and the *l'Invincible* is the only ship that has as yet been able to get into the port. It is quite impossible for me to leave the *camp* of Egypt before I receive accounts from the army. Can I set off and return to port of Europe, without having any satisfactory answer to give France and her Government? If, what I scarcely think possible, General Bonaparte were to find in the country insurmountable obstacles, and if he were obliged to re-embark, would it not be a criminal omission on my part to deprive him of the only vessel of which he has left at my disposal? I have seen to-day an English vessel for the first time since I have been here. It is probably I shall see it to-morrow or the day after. I

shall send for the vessel that is in the port. If you follow my advice, you will remain with us. We have sanguine hopes of success, and you will enjoy the satisfaction of carrying to your General the intelligence of a glorious victory. As I could neither enter the old port of Alexandria, nor go away, I have taken up a position of military position here. I have been forced to moor the ships; because, having left Toulon with half-crews, I have not men enough to fight sailing." To this, Admiral Ganthesume added: "We are at some distance from the small island you see yonder, because the ground there will not hold our anchors, and it would be dangerous to run near to the shore; but we are defended from that side by a formidable battery."

After my conversation with the Admiral, I went during the night, alone, over that immense ship, which carried 120 guns. I did not see a single person upon deck; it appeared to me as if I were in the Church of Notre Dame. A circumstance that adds to the solitude

still more singular ~~was~~ that, before ~~my~~ landing, there had been 2145 persons ~~on~~ board, and ~~at that moment~~ there ~~was~~ not above ~~one~~. The ~~man~~ I examined ~~that~~ vast floating citadel, the ~~low~~ inclined I felt to take part in the battle. In fact, I ~~was~~ not ~~a~~ sea-officer, and my duty was to join my general. There would be no want of messengers to bring him intelligence of ~~a~~ victory, whilst I should reap much blame and very little pity, if by some disaster or other I were to be taken prisoner or killed. I went therefore to the Admiral and said to him: "After mature consideration, I ~~am~~ resolved to continue my journey. I must give an account of my mission, and the position wherein I found you." He gave ~~me~~ a boat ~~to~~ carry me to Rosetta; but I soon repented the step I had taken. The swell occasioned by the meeting of the Nile with the ~~sea~~ ~~was~~ then very strong, and a violent tempest ~~added~~ to ~~the~~ danger that threatened us. A vessel ~~which~~ with provisions had just been totally lost; ~~another~~ much larger, which was still struggling,

was kind enough to throw ■ a rope, that ■ might fasten ■ boat to her, and avoid running out ■ sea, where we might ■ to the bottom, or split upon the breakers. We remained seventeen hours in that situation, when ■ last the sea growing a little less boisterous, I proposed getting forward ■ a quick rate, so ■ gain the mouth of the Nile. The ■ were not much pleased ■ my plan; but I ■ seconded by the ensign who commanded the boat, and who ■ a young ■ full of energy and intrepidity. The first billow nearly submerged us. One more effort was necessary; and while the sailors, pale ■ death, continued rowing with vigour, one of my travelling companions, ■ officer 'in the *guides*, fell on his knees and began the Lord's Prayer, of which he did not omit ■ single word. When the danger ■ over, his courage returned, and ashamed of ■ he could ■ himself ■ comprehend, ■ whispered to ■ "I am ■ thirty-eight years old, and from my sixth year I never ■ a prayer in my ■ I ■

ceive how I recollected that one ; and I do declare that at the present moment I am not able to repeat a single word of it." This was nevertheless one of the bravest of the Egyptian army. I think he died a general of brigade in Spain.

At Rosetta I found that the commander, Bidon Julien, knew no more about the army than Admiral Brueys did. "I am however easy," he said to me. "The inhabitants are perplexed, and that is a sure sign that we are victorious. You have nothing to do on the Nile: I shall give you an armed vessel to carry you to Cairo, of which place the army must by this time have taken possession." The day after I embarked on the Nile, I met Arrighi, (now Duke of Padua,) who had come from Cairo, and was conveying to the Admiral an account of our victories, with the reiterated order to go to Corfu. When I told the General-in-chief that the British were still at Aboukir, he showed signs of great ill-humour ; and fearing that Arrighi might be dis-

ficulties in his way, did not join the Admiral  
 quick enough, sailed off that very night his  
 aide-de-camp, Julien, with fresh orders. The  
 unfortunate youth sailed down the Nile in a  
*djerme*, escorted by a dozen soldiers. His want  
 of experience was the cause of his death.  
 Having entered the branch of Alexandria, he  
 thought he might rest for the night; but the  
 Arabs murdered him and his escort. In him  
 General Bonaparte lost one of the best officers  
 of his staff, and a most excellent friend.

The English were above a fortnight without  
 showing themselves; and Arrighi found the  
 Admiral, who was convinced that they had  
 counted the number of his ships, and did not  
 dare to engage. It was not until the first of  
 August that Nelson appeared off Alexandria  
 with fourteen ships of the line and several  
 frigates. The particulars of the battle, which  
 however I was not present, are well known  
 and require my repeating them here.

Although but a few days had elapsed since  
 the arrival of the General-in-chief in Cairo,



had been preceded, as ~~was~~ was everywhere else, by such strict orders and excellent administration, that the soldiers, and in general all the French, were accustomed to walk through the metropolis and its environs without feeling the slightest uneasiness. The city of Cairo presented a curious spectacle to the Europeans who ~~was~~ it for the first time. I ~~had~~ landed at Boulack on the Nile, ~~at~~ a great distance from the square of El Bekir, where General Bonaparte lived. The narrow streets of the city were filled with camels fastened to ~~another~~ another in long rows, carrying ~~all~~ sorts of goods on their backs, and led by a single man. The inhabitants passed through the small vacant spaces with slow gravity and with their pipes in their mouths; while our soldiers, mounted on donkeys, galloped cheerfully, sliding between the camels and bursting into ~~many~~ of laughter. A shocking dust and ~~an~~ offensive smell of mummies suffocated us. ~~Here~~ and there, a few grave Mussulmans, seated ~~on~~ their mules, opened themselves a passage by the ~~all~~

of their stick-bearers, who struck all that opposed them, and the who did not their approach. Beggars, carefully hiding their faces, and little inclined to discover what ours show, pestered the passers by with their singular cries, and seemed to be soliciting alms with angry imprecations.

Mourad Bey, after the battle of the Pyramids, had sought refuge in Upper Egypt. He had still with him several thousand Mamelukes. His influence over people considerable; and it might prove dangerous, the General-in-chief, while he preparing against him the expedition entrusted to Desaix, tried to gain him over by secret negotiations. His legitimate wife and his whole harem remained in Cairo. Bonaparte sent Eugene Beauharnais to the wife with his compliments, and the assurance that she had nothing to fear. She received Eugene politely, and in return for the presents the General-in-chief sent her, she gave him her husband's beautiful shawl and some of his arms. The respect shown to

the wife of Mourad Bey had no effect on the chief. The vigour and talent of General Desaix, and the courage of our troops, who more than once forced him to retire to the Oasis, and reduced his followers to a few faithful friends, could not persuade the intrepid leader to lend an ear to any arrangement whatever; and it was not until after two years' conflict and adversity that he at last consented to come to an understanding with the head of the French army; but at that time General Bonaparte had already left Egypt.

It had been supposed that in this fruitful country all the wealth of the East would be accumulated. Instead of that, we found misery everywhere. The government of the Mamelukes was devoid of either common sense or moderation. Besides the *miri* and another tax which the people of Egypt were obliged to pay to the Grand Seignior, they were loaded with imposts, which the caprice and tyranny of the subordinate officers were perpetually inventing. The Beys, who were the chiefs of

the Mamelukes, the [redacted] quartered in [redacted] provinces, and [redacted] the private horsemen who [redacted] sent to maintain order in the villages, thought themselves entitled to impose and levy [redacted] or less heavy. The *fellah*, [redacted] peasant, groaned under the [redacted] of these [redacted] exactions; and if he [redacted] unfortunate enough to have children of either sex that drew the attention of the leaders, they [redacted] taken away from him to satisfy their brutal lust.

One of the first measures of the General-in-chief was to set the people secure in regard to their property; [redacted] make them comprehend the plain and judicious system of taxation about to [redacted] established, and to acquaint them that for the arbitrary laws to which they [redacted] subject under the Mamelukes, would be substituted, in each province, divans composed of the most reputable men, to judge their disputes. These various declarations soon dissipated alarm; and [redacted] had, in fact, no cause to complain of the people during [redacted] months of [redacted] stay in the country.

The Arab tribes were still, however, very dangerous. We had succeeded in making peace with some of them; but several others, more numerous and better armed, continued frequently to interrupt our communications and plunder our convoys, by land as well as on the Nile. We were in consequence obliged to organize a system of pursuit, which was followed up with as much energy, that the tribes felt at last convinced that they must either submit or retire to other deserts.

Mourad Bey, who was now in Upper Egypt, gave us more cause of uneasiness; but Ibrahim Bey, next to Mourad the most powerful leader of the Mamelukes, having gone forward to meet the caravan returning from Mecca; and under the pretence of defending it against the French army, he stopped it on its way, and plundered it. He afterwards returned to Egypt by the way of Salahieh, and proclaimed his intention of attacking the French army from that side. General Regnier, whom I accompanied on that expedition, did not

much trouble with the Arabs and Mamelukes of the vanguard ; but he was conscious that his small division would be destroyed if one to his assistance. I went to acquaint the General-in-chief with this circumstance, who immediately flew to help him, the head of some regiments of cavalry which had succeeded in mounting with the horses found in Lower Egypt. The Mamelukes beaten at Salahieh, from which place the battle took its It then that the General-in-chief learned the disaster of fleet Aboukir. The brought to him by an aide-de-camp of General Kleber. The officer's horse being unable to any farther, he had written some particulars in an open letter, which I found in the hands of a peasant to whom he had entrusted it. I read the letter, and advancing towards the General-in-chief, I begged him to withdraw for a moment from the group of officers which surrounded him. I then gave him the note. When he had read it he in me, " You know contents ; keep

secret." We returned ■ Belbeys, where ■■ found breakfast ■■ table. Every body was in good spirits, and particularly the troops, who had retaken from the Mamelukes the spoil of the caravan. They were going to sell the goods for almost nothing; but the General-in-chief forbade the officers to buy any of them there, and ordered the soldiers to dispose of them on their return ■■ Cairo. All of ■ sudden, while breakfasting, the General-in-chief said ■ his guests: "It seems, you like this country: that is very lucky, for ■■ have ■■■ no fleet to carry us back to Europe." He then acquainted ■■ them with the particulars of the battle of Aboukir, and they ■■■ listened ■■ with ■■ much earnestness ■■ the General ■■■ related them. Every one ■■■ appeared reconciled to the event, and nobody talked any more of it.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Ibrahim Bey ■■■■ Syria.—Project of an expedition ■  
 Syria.—Revolt ■ Cairo.—Death of Col. Sulkowski, Aide-  
 de-camp ■ ■■ General-in-chief.—Mission of M. de Beau-  
 champ.—The plague ■ Alexandria.—Expeditions ■■■■ of  
 administering justice adopted by the ■■■■ Cairo.

IBRAHIM BEY had retired to Syria, and there  
 ■■■■ no doubt but he would organize in that  
 country considerable bodies of irregular troops  
 which would disturb our frontiers. The Gene-  
 ral-in-chief had also learned that the ■■■■ of  
 the invasion of Egypt ■■■■ been received with  
 great displeasure at Constantinople.

The English, enraged at the conquest of  
 Malta, and sensible of the important conse-  
 quences of the occupation of Egypt to their  
 establishments in India, pressed the Turks to



go ■■■ The General-in-chief ■■■ therefore reason to expect that he would not only ■■■ continually harassed by Ibrahim Bey, but also that the English would make themselves masters of the ports of Syria. He took a resolution to be beforehand with them ; but it was ■■■ of all necessary to know what might be the dispositions of the Pacha who commanded ■■■ Syria. The name of the Pacha for the time being, was Djezzar, a man of a very energetic character, who had maintained himself for several years in ■■■ post, in spite of the Sultan himself, and who enforced obedience by the terror his cruelties inspired. The General-in-chief sent to him ■■■ young Frenchman, just come home from Mascata with the Consul Beauchamp, and who was very well acquainted ■■■ with the Arabic language. Djezzar ■■■ an ambiguous answer, which served to ■■■ convince General Bonaparte, that it would be necessary ■■■ support ■■■ declarations with ■■■ army. But ■■■ incident occurred, which threatened the expedition ■■■ an indefinite

delay. While perfect tranquillity seemed to prevail in Cairo and its outskirts, a rebellion, without any apparent cause, suddenly broke out at one of the gates of the city.

A number of wounded, who had been at the battle of Salahieh, and some invalids of the division of Regnier, filling above twenty transports, were murdered, and the rebellion quickly spread through the city like wildfire. General Dupuis, commander of the fortress, immediately mounted his horse, with all the men he could bring together; but he was assassinated, with several of his companions. To oppose the rebels any longer in the streets was not to be thought of. Means were however found to restrain them, though they had made themselves masters of some of the largest mosques in the town. It was then resolved to fire on them from the citadel. The bombs and howitzers made great havoc among them; after which, several battalions of infantry attacked the mosque, where all the rebels were killed or taken prisoners. This rebellion last-

ed three days, and did not occasion any great loss to the army; but the General-in-chief lost one of his best aides-de-camp. Colonel Sulkowski had already been wounded at Alexandria, and also at the battle of Salahieh, and was not yet completely recovered, when, the General-in-chief wishing to send an officer to reconnoitre out of the city, he offered himself, pretending that it was his turn to march, and that his wound was entirely healed. Accompanied by fifteen guides, he was crossing that part of the Desert that separates the town of Cairo from the citadel, when a troop of Arabs, that had concealed themselves behind a number of small hillocks, suddenly rushed upon him. He was killed, with the greatest part of his escort; for only two men returned to Cairo, where they brought the fatal tidings. I was not then in Cairo.\* By order of the General-in-chief, I was accompanying General Andreossy on an expedition to the Delta, Mensale and Peluse. We were completely ignorant of what

\* See Appendix.

going forward in the capital; and I sailing leisurely up the Nile, when I learned that at Mansoura, Lamansour, the hospital, containing our sick and wounded, with a detachment of soldiers, had been surprised, and all the men butchered without mercy. The rebellion of Cairo had reached the two banks of the river, and more particularly the branch of Damietta. Some revolted villages burned to make example. The General-in-chief was very desirous to know whether the inhabitants of Mansoura had retained any remembrance of their victorious resistance, when, under the reign of St. Louis, they had been so imprudently attacked by the Count d'Artois. But it appeared, from all inquiries, that these Egyptians acquainted neither with the name of St. Louis, with the gallant actions that had illustrated their ancestors.

In the month of December 1798, the General-in-chief not yet received any from the Directory. The political object of the expedition experienced great impedi-

by the loss of the fleet. It longer to be hoped we should be able to lead the army in India, the superiority of the English being concentrated on the . All that remained therefore present to be done profit by situation, to bring back the Turks to their old sentiments of friendship for the French, and detach them from the English, at least to prevent the two Emperors of Austria and Russia from concerting with each other the total dismembering of the Ottoman empire. The General-in-chief thought himself authorized to suppose that M. de Talleyrand, who had been appointed French Ambassador in Constantinople, had really departed for that metropolis, and had succeeded in maintaining his post there. In those circumstances it important to correspond with him, and the best way appeared to be, to send M. Beauchamp to Constantinople; but it was necessary for him to escape the watchful eyes of the English cruisers. General Bonaparte contrived, for that purpose, the following plan. The Turkish caravella

which [redacted] [redacted] over to bring the Sultan the yearly tribute from Egypt, [redacted] then riding [redacted] anchor in the port of Alexandria. The captain of that vessel [redacted] a man respected in his country, and he had with him his two [redacted]. He received [redacted] order to carry M. Beauchamp to Constantinople, and to leave one of his [redacted] in Alexandria [redacted] an hostage for the safe return of that gentleman to Egypt. The ostensible commission of the Consul was to require the release of all the Frenchmen who [redacted] detained in Syria, whether merchants or consular agents, and also of such military as had been made prisoners either in coming to Egypt [redacted] in returning to France. He was, in the [redacted] of his negotiation with the Grand Vizier, to insinuate that France would abandon Egypt, and make [redacted] treaty of friendship with Turkey, [redacted] the latter consented to give up all her [redacted] nections with England; in which case, the French troops would join those of the Sultan, either [redacted] put [redacted] end [redacted] the [redacted] with the two Emperors by one [redacted] treaty, or to

give him support, if peace should not take place.

Unfortunately, M. Beauchamp was discovered by the English, and sent to the Seven Towers at Constantinople.

It was about this time that the plague began its ravages at Alexandria. I was ordered to accompany M. Beauchamp to that place, that I might superintend the preparations for his departure,\* and make a report to the General-in-chief of the state of the fortifications there. When I arrived, I found General Marniont commanding the province and the whole Egyptian shore as far as Rosetta. "You arrive at an unfortunate moment," he said: "the plague has broken out yesterday among our troops. It appears that the order given on your arrival at Alexandria, to burn the clothes of the persons who had died of the contagion, had been negligently executed. Some of the inhabitants have worn them again; and our troops being in close connexion with them, the contact has spread

\* See Appendix.

the plague among the French, and I have been assured that it cannot fail soon to break out also among the Turks. Yesterday four French-  
men died; there were eight sick to-day, who will probably be numbered with the dead to-morrow.

All possible precautions had already been taken by General Marmont: the troops were lodged under tents, and all communication betwixt them and the inhabitants was prohibited. The most rigorous orders had also been issued, forbidding the battalions to which the sick belonged, to hold any connexion with the others; but the carelessness of the soldiers destroyed all the good effects of these measures. They looked upon the plague as an enemy it was their duty to challenge; and the communication of the soldiers with each other continued, notwithstanding the severest discipline. My orders were to order Commissary Michaud from Rosetta to Alexandria: he came with a suite of several persons, and lodged with General Marmont's. In the space of two days he was the only survivor of those he brought



with him. One of the secretaries, named Renaud, sent the hotel to go and sign the orders for the lodgings the master had taken in the city. The paper on which he wrote sufficed to communicate the disease to his blood. The next morning he sent word that he was not very well, and could not breakfast at the General's table. We went immediately to see him. He was still up; but his features already bore all the marks of the fatal malady: his eye glared, his tongue faltered, he had a profuse cold perspiration, and pains in his limbs. The physician who was called to visit him, just appeared at the door of his room, with a thick long stick in his hand. After having looked at him for a moment, he ordered hot water to be placed before him, and retired without administering any other remedy. The unfortunate young man begged us to get him ink and paper, that he might write to his family. In the afternoon he expired in great agony; so that his illness did not last above fifteen hours.

The contagion soon assumed a terrible

aspect. All the physicians died successively ; the ~~infirmaries~~ of the infirmaries went away, and it ~~was~~ no longer possible to enter the hospitals with impunity. We were obliged to take Turks to ~~visit~~ the sick, and to pay a very great price for their services ; while the superintendence ~~over~~ them was ~~very~~ relaxed, ~~an~~ account of the danger with which it ~~was~~ accompanied, that the most flagrant misconduct ~~was~~ not to be prevented. At General Marmont's lodgings we had been obliged to do without table-cloths ~~and~~ sheets ; all our clothes were fumigated ; the out-door servants had ~~no~~ connexion with those of the interior. The carriage gateway ~~was~~ nailed up ; while every thing that ~~was~~ brought to the house from out of doors, and ~~even~~ the meat, ~~was~~ thrown through a wicket into a tub of water. With ~~a~~ view to avoid the infection among us, ~~we~~ divided ourselves into two brigades ; and during the night ~~we~~ pursued each other from ~~room~~ to room, throwing water in ~~our~~ faces, which ~~was~~ the only ammunition we possessed. Among the few soldiers who consented

■ nurse the sick, there was ■ gunner who had been in Constantinople, where he pretended that he ■ escaped the plague. According to his assertion, he possessed ■ infallible preservative against the infection, which was, to keep his face and hands perpetually moistened with water. But it was discovered that he washed his hands in oil. Indeed, it ■ been observed in Cairo, that the lamp-lighters never caught the plague. After remaining six weeks in the unfortunate city of Alexandria, I received from the General-in-chief an order to return to Cairo, that I might accompany him in his campaign to Syria.\*

The Arabs of the province of Damanhour, being well acquainted with the situation of our troops ■ Alexandria, took advantage of it to ■ their depredations. I set off with ■ escort of thirty men, and two small ■ we had taken ■ Malta, and which General Mar- ■ was kind enough to entrust to me, to increase my slender means of defence ; but I was

obliged, according to custom, to take under my protection ■■■■■ of peasants, women, and children, who profited by my departure to return to Damanhour and Ramanieh. We had scarcely advanced two leagues when the Arabs began to hover about ■■■■ flanks. The French infantry, which a few months before had not even courage enough to fly before the Arabs, so soon accustomed themselves to dare them, that I had the greatest trouble to prevent them from strolling about the plain for the purpose of firing ■■ these enemies. Two ■ three Arabs ■■■■ dismounted, and then, to put them completely to the rout, I had only to fire my two cannons at them. On my arrival in Cairo, the General-in-chief had already gone off. He had left the place two days before, leaving me ■■■ order to traverse the city in all directions with the Police Aga, to know whether all ■■■■ quiet. The Aga ■■■■ at that time a Greek, called Barthlemi. ■■■■ accompanied by ■■ guards, ■■■ executioner and ■■■ servants. We walked with a solemn pace, ■■■■ the sight of the Aga

all the pedlars in the streets, and those whose conscience ■■■ not quite clear, immediately disappeared. In the Rue du Petit Thouars, he stopped facing ■ coffee-house; ■■■ his stick-bearer, who walked before him, dragged along by force a man, to whom he addressed ■■■ questions. The poor fellow answered in great confusion. After reflecting for a moment, the Cadi slowly made ■ horizontal motion with his right-hand, and we gravely continued ■■■ walk. The gesture of the Cadi appeared singular to me. When we had got thirty steps farther, I turned round, and seeing ■ group of persons assembled before the coffee-house, I spurred my horse, and perceived with horror ■ ■■■ mutilated corpse, and the executioner calmly putting ■ human head into his bag. "What's the meaning of this?" said I to the Cadi.—"Oh," answered he coolly, "that fellow had ■ share in the rebellion of Cairo, and escaped my vengeance." I insisted ■■■ his putting the whole affair regularly down in writing, to be communicated to the General-in-chief. In all

probability the unfortunate [REDACTED] [REDACTED] guilty ; but I am convinced, that my presence, and the wish to give an example of [REDACTED] justice, were the real causes of his death. For the rest, executions of this sort [REDACTED] not [REDACTED]. The Cadi [REDACTED] went out but accompanied by the hang- [REDACTED]. The smallest infraction of the police laws [REDACTED] punished by blows [REDACTED] the soles of the feet,—a punishment from which the women themselves [REDACTED] not exempted.

## CHAPTER XIX.

The General's motives for his Expedition to Syria.—Regnier.—Kleber.—Bon.—Lannes.—Murat.—Departure of the Expedition.—Taking of El Arisch.—Taking of Jaffa.—The General-in-chief's presence of mind.—The Army arrives before St. John of Acre.—Loss of the Flotilla — veying — for the Siege.

BEFORE — enter Syria, I think it will be well to give an account of the General's motives for that expedition.

It — absolutely necessary to ensure the conquest of Egypt by that of Syria, and especially by the possession of the maritime places.

The two countries — dependent on each other, — well in regard to natural productions, as political connection.

Egypt has no wood, — a part of Syria — covered with forests. — mutual exchanges

extend to many other productions. The Desert alone separates the two countries, and the necessity of establishing two forts at the entrance of the Desert is indispensable for the possession of Egypt.

To these general considerations, all times equally in force, must be added particular circumstances which had just been created by policy.

In declaring war against France the Sultan would launch out against us the whole armed population of Syria. The Pacha who commanded in that province, had a personal interest in showing himself our foe: he would effect his reconciliation with the Porte by the services he might render her; he would draw a great deal of money out of the English, and find war the means of subduing, at least removing, Ibrahim Bey, whose presence in Syria was disagreeable to him, and caused him anxiety.

On the other hand, General Bonaparte wished to deprive the English of the means of com-



communicating with [redacted] disembarking [redacted] an extent of coast eighty leagues in length. [redacted] intention [redacted] to make himself master of the maritime places, and fortify them. [redacted] [redacted] hopes of drawing over to his party a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Syria, especially the Druses and Maronists, schismatic Mussulmans,\* whose manners [redacted] at variance with those of the Turks, and who have no other connexion with them but through the enormous taxes they are forced to pay, and the multifarious oppression under which they labour. Finally, he expected by that [redacted] to force the Porte to explain herself openly; for he [redacted] not yet acquainted with the declaration of [redacted] made by the Turks against France. He placed at the head of the expedition General Regnier as commander of the vanguard, and Generals Kleber, Bon, and Lannes, and Murat for the cavalry.

\* Here Count Lavallette [redacted] made a little mistake. The Maronists are Christians, [redacted] [redacted] Mussulmans.—(Note of [redacted] Translator.)

He left in Egypt General Desaix vigorously pursuing Mourad Bey, and keeping in ■■■ all the provinces of the Upper Nile ■ far as the Cataracts. General Dugua in Cairo commanded the Delta from Rosetta to Damietta. He had under his orders General Lanusse, whose courage and activity were sufficient to maintain peace in all those extensive provinces. The ■■■■ ■■■ favourable for the expedition to Syria, which began in January 1799.

The Desert, which divides Egypt from Syria, is eighty leagues in breadth. In that space of land is found the wells of Katisch, which ■■■ enclosed in ■ fort, that the army might not be without water. At two days' march beyond the wells is the fort of El Arisch, which contains better water than Katisch, but of which the enemy had already made himself master. We ■■■ forced to besiege it, and it was bravely defended by ■■■ Arnauta. They were however constrained to capitulate, after ■ vigorous attack of three days. In the treaty it was stipulated that they should go to Da-

mascus; but the greater number among them threw themselves into Jaffa, of which place they augmented the garrison. We were obliged in consequence to besiege the town.\* The town was taken by storm a few days after the first attack, and the Arnauts who had capitulated at El-Arisch being forced within its walls, were,

\* When General Kleber left El-Arisch, to proceed to Kanjonnees, he was led astray by his guides, who threw him much too far to the right in the Desert. The General-in-chief followed him, not doubting that General Kleber had crossed the village; and he was going to enter it, escorted only by his staff and fifty guides, when two horsemen, who formed the vanguard, came back in full gallop, after having fired two pistols; and we discovered on the other side of the village the camp and cavalry of Abdallah Pasha, who appeared disposed to charge them. The army was two leagues behind. There was no possibility of standing against six hundred well-armed enemies, and of escaping if they had pursued. Fortunately, the General, on this occasion, showed an instance of the admirable presence of mind he possessed. He ordered the commander of the detachment to form in a single line; the enemy thought them more numerous than they really were; and after some moments' deliberation came to a resolution of raising camp and retreating.

according to the European custom, shot for having violated the treaty. I was not at that time with the General-in-chief, having joined him only the day after the taking of Jaffa.

From Jaffa the army marched to Caiffa; but the enemy had abandoned that place, though it possessed a fort and strong walls. We left there a small post, and continued our way to St. John of Acre, which city we arrived at the evening of the 27th of March. While the tents were being pitched, the General-in-chief was surprised to hear a sea a tolerably brisk cannonading. I went by his orders to the shore, and soon perceived that the sound was becoming distant, so that I feared it might be the announcement of some fatal event.

On entering Syria, General Bonaparte had given orders to Marmont to send him by some brig the ammunition he should want for the sieges of the Syrian towns. Captain Standley, who commanded the frigate which was at the head of the expedition, neglected to inquire

whether ~~we~~ were ~~masters~~ of Jaffa, on ~~the~~ walls of which place ~~we~~ ~~had~~ ~~the~~ Turkish flag flying, to draw in the enemy's ships, which might bring ~~us~~ provisions, and ~~return~~ from ~~them~~. Standley, persuaded ~~we~~ were not at Jaffa, went in to St. John of Acre; but Commodore ~~the~~ Sidney Smith, who ~~was~~ cruising before the port with a ship and ~~a~~ frigate, gave ~~him~~ the chase ~~and~~ took ~~a~~ part of his vessels. This was the ~~noise~~ of the cannonading we heard; and General Bonaparte ~~was~~ convinced, ~~as~~ well as myself, that the army had lost all its siege ammunition. The ~~same~~ day the army encamped to the north of St. John of Acre, and the General-in-chief stood during several hours ~~on~~ a height that commands St. John of Acre, ~~at~~ about half a league distant. The enemy, perceiving the staff, made trial of the skill of their gunners. The bombs fired with ~~as~~ much nicety, that one of them ~~was~~ buried ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ground, three paces from the General, between his two aides-de-camp, Merlin and Beauharnais. Another ~~fell~~ and burst ~~at~~ two feet from the soil, in ~~the~~ midst of a group of

soldiers who were lying down and preparing their breakfast. There were eleven of them, but only one survived an instant.

The town of St. John of Acre is situated on the point of a narrow slip of land, fortified towards the sea by batteries and a small lighthouse, and also protected by some pieces of artillery. On the land side it was enclosed by a high wall, divided by a tower on which several pieces of ordnance had been placed. The city was surrounded at a considerable distance by gardens, which being well enclosed with hedges of cactus, we had much trouble in repelling the riflemen who harassed us from behind them.

The traveller Volney, whom we had found so accurate in his description of Egypt, asserts that St. John of Acre is not surrounded with ditches. This assertion proved true in the beginning of the siege. Several officers of engineers confirmed us in our prepossession, particularly Colonel Sampson, who was wounded in his hand while fighting in a muddy rivulet

he supposed to have been the fosse of the town.

After ■■ had ■■■ ten days ■■ the tower I have mentioned, it ■■■ pierced, and the breach appeared large enough to lodge ■■■ miners with an officer of the staff. The troops made ■ movement to rush to the foot of the town; but they were suddenly stopped by a ditch fifteen feet broad by ten ■ twelve deep, and lined with a good counterscarp. We were, in consequence, forced to establish ■ globe of compression to blow it up. The concussion took place, and young Mailly-Chateau-Renaud, ■ officer of the staff, received orders to ■■ the tower with four miners, to remain there during the night, and to pierce it, while the infantry endeavoured ■ make themselves masters of the ditch. The intrepid young officer and ■■ men executed their orders; but the enemy opened so strong a fire ■■ our troops, that they ■■■ forced ■ abandon the fosse. Mailly and ■■ gunners ■■■ in the breach.

The aide-de-camp Duroc ■■■ been sent an

hour before into the ditch, to discover the progress of the breach: a howitzer that burst, wounded him deeply in the thigh, and lamed him. The night falling in, the British were constrained to give up the attack, and to wait until the arrival of a larger supply of artillery should furnish them with the means of making breaches on all sides; but just at that moment the General-in-chief heard that his ammunition, all his artillery, sent from Alexandria, had been captured by Sir Sidney Smith; while at the same time we learned the secret of the astonishing skill of the Turkish gunners.

When, a few years before the period I am speaking of, General Aubert Dubayet was sent by the French Government to Constantinople as ambassador, he obtained leave to take with him a company of light artillery, to teach the Turks those parts of gunnery they were unacquainted with, and especially that concerned the letting off of bombs. This company had returned to France, and part of them were in the besieging army, but their pupils



in the fortress; so that Turkish bombardiers, instructed by French troops, sending us many projectiles, of which they possessed about eighteen hundred, with four mortars.

The trenches had not been regularly made, and the consequence of that neglect was that the soldiers, not being sufficiently covered, fell victims to our precipitation. General Caffarelli, commander of the engineers of the army, himself struck by a bullet on his left elbow, and he lost his arm. He had already suffered the loss of a leg several years before, during the retreat of Jourdan.

The Turks were wonderfully good soldiers behind a wall: we had more than one instance of that during the whole siege of St. John of Acre. It was almost impossible for a Frenchman to show himself uncovered without being struck. The terrible fire of the besieged was supported by the batteries of Sir Sidney's ship *Theseus*, and our frigate.

The labours of the siege were grown more

complicated. Sir Sidney [redacted] had with him a Frenchman named Philippeaux, an emigrant, formerly a schoolfellow of General Bonaparte, and an officer of engineers. He [redacted] two [redacted] doubts beyond the fosse, the batteries of which soon ranged along the branches of [redacted] trenches, and forced [redacted] to begin new works to change their direction.\*

The field-pieces being too weak to destroy the tower, we had [redacted] to mining; but

\* I think I have mentioned, that among the persons [redacted] St. John of Acre to carry proposals of peace to Djezzar Pacha, [redacted] a young man, named Mailly de Château-Renaud, who had returned from Mascate with [redacted] Beauchamp. This unfortunate young man [redacted] locked up in the lighthouse [redacted] Acre, with about four hundred Christians he had collected on the [redacted] of Syria. The day after the failure of the first storm, [redacted] soldiers who [redacted] in the trenches mentioned [redacted] General Vial, [redacted] upon service, that in the sea-side might be seen a great [redacted] [redacted] bodies rolled [redacted] like [redacted] of rice [redacted] coffee. [redacted] [redacted] look [redacted] them, and recognised poor young Chateau-Renaud, who had been strangled during [redacted] night. Thus the [redacted] brothers, who, after [redacted] years' absence, had [redacted] for [redacted] hours at Cairo, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] the same [redacted] [redacted] John of Acre.

while we were working with great activity in secrecy, the enemy continued firing on the town. More than ever the enemy entertained the hope of gaining a footing in it and destroying it; but it was in vain that our grenadiers and sappers endeavoured several times to take possession of it. The part that looked towards the town continued to be occupied by the besieged, who ceased throwing on our troops howitzers, grenades, and even bombs, which made the post exceedingly dangerous. Notwithstanding all our efforts, the two redoubts constructed by the enemy covered us with their fire every time our troops crossed the ditch to storm the tower. The officer of engineers, Philippeaux, soon guessed we were making mines, and applied himself to destroy those we were laying under the ditch. In consequence, on the 18th Germinal, the enemy made a sortie with much abruptness and violence, that a part of our trenches were destroyed. The enemy's columns were commanded by intelligent English officers, some of whom reached the entrance of

mine, where he was killed. The [redacted] found on [redacted] informed us that [redacted] [redacted] Captain Hatfield, and that he had been the [redacted] [redacted] the attack of the Cape of Good Hope. His fall caused [redacted] confusion among the troops he commanded, who [redacted] after, being attacked with energy, hastily returned to the city, leaving a great many killed behind them.

## CHAPTER XX.

Ibrahim Bey re-appears.—Battle of Gafarkala.—Battle of Mount Thabor.—The General-in-chief sleeps ■■■■■.  
 —Respect of General Bonaparte for religious prejudices.  
 —Death of the interpreter Venture.—Return ■ St. John of Acre.—Death of General Caffarelli.—Thirteenth Assault.  
 —We penetrate into the ■■■■ and ■■■ forced out again.—Fourteenth Assault.

WHILE we were fighting under the walls of St. John of Acre, like the crusaders beyond the Jordan, Ibrahim Bey, the bearer of the orders of Djezzar Pacha, assembled all the Arabs of the mountains of Naplouse, and ■■■■ of the environs of Damascus. The General-in-chief had taken the precaution to make himself master of the bridge of Jacoub and the port of Japhet. The ■■■■ of the ■■■■ of Tyre ■■■■ constantly ■■■■ by the cavalry of General Murat.

General Junot had posted himself ■ Loubi, ■ Nazareth. He was soon attacked ■ a short distance from Gafarkala; and though he ■ only with him ■ part of the 2nd regiment of light infantry, three companies of the 19th, and one hundred and fifty dragoons, he ■ not hesitate to dare the charge of above three thousand horsemen. Notwithstanding all the ■ of the enemy, he succeeded in reaching the heights of Nazareth without having been routed; and after eight hours of the most desperate fighting, he forced the enemy to ■ temporary retreat. ■ glorious defence made the General-in-chief feel the necessity of terminating, once for all, the annoyance of these dangerous enemies, whose plan ■ no less than to ■ and attack him under the walls of St. John of Acre. ■ General ■ against them, and ■ few days afterwards he marched himself to the support of Junot and Kleber with the ■ of ■ cavalry, the division of General Bon, and eight pieces of artillery. He directed his way ■ Foui. At nine

o'clock in the morning he had reached the heights, whence the prospect opened three leagues over the plain bounded by Mount Thabor. From thence we perceived the squares of General Kleber, presenting a black line, surrounded and pressed by a considerable mass of cavalry and infantry, which, at three leagues' distance, had all the appearance of an ant-hill. Sometimes the French line disappeared, and we thought it destroyed; then it showed itself again, covered by its own fire, during some minutes. The General-in-chief began by throwing his cavalry on the heights to his right, where the camp of the Mamelukes had been established, and which we found deserted. He thus formed two squares of infantry, and made his arrangements so as to turn the enemy at a great distance. When he arrived within half a league of General Kleber, he sent to him General Rampon, the head of the half brigade; and as soon as that troop had begun its march, he made known his presence by firing a twelve-pounder. The

theatrical. At the same instant ■■■ General Kleber, quitting ■■■ defensive attitude, advancing upon the village of Fouli, of which ■■■ made himself master, and the enemy flying in all directions. But on one side the enemy found before him General Rampon, while General Vial had cut off his retreat ■■■ the mountains of Naplouse, and General Murat ■■■ waiting for him at the bridge of Jacoub. The guides on foot attacked him near Jenin; ■■■ that his only resource ■■■ to fly behind Mount Thabor, from whence, during the night, he reached Elmekanieh, and further up the Jordan, where ■■■ great number ■■■ drowned in attempting to ■■■ the river.

After the battle the General-in-chief went to sleep at Nazareth. This small place ■■■ situated a good way within the mountains, in a very picturesque situation, between two groves, one of sycamore and the other of date-trees: the chief part of the inhabitants ■■■ Christians. ■■■ Bonaparte entered the village, ■■■ stopped near ■■■ ancient fountain, where a considerable



number of cattle were drinking. The ~~place~~ of the village stood there waiting for the General-in-chief: the whole scene ~~recalled~~ to memory the patriarchal times so beautifully ~~described~~ in the Bible. The French ~~army~~ received with great demonstrations of joy, and General Bonaparte went with his ~~staff~~ to pass the night at the ~~convent~~ of Nazareth.

This convent ~~was~~ evidently built in the time of the Crusades: the edifice is not very large. Next morning the General-in-chief asked the Superior to conduct him to the church, which resembles our village churches, and contains nothing remarkable but the chapel, which was once, they say, the bed-chamber of the Virgin Mary. It ~~is~~ below the chief altar, and a few very broad steps descend to it. An altar fills ~~the~~ place of the bed; and being cut out of the rock, it is ~~not~~ more than ~~four~~ ~~feet~~ in height. The Superior, who ~~was~~ a Spaniard, but spoke very good Italian, made ~~me~~ observe on the left ~~side~~ of the ~~altar~~ a pillar of black marble, the ~~shaft~~ of which touched the ceiling, ~~and~~ its basement was

broken off  feet from  ground, which made it appear suspended. The Prior told us in the gravest  possible, that when the Angel Gabriel  announce to the Virgin her glorious and holy destination, he touched the pillar with his heel and broke it in two. We burst out a-laughing; but General Bonaparte, looking severely  us, made   our gravity. Along the cloisters  lying about thirty men who  been wounded on the preceding day; several of them had just expired, and these latter had nearly all received from the monks the last comforts of religion. This was probably done at the instigation of these pious cenobites; for,  that period, the French troops were very foreign to any religious feeling. Neither the aspect of the country wherein they fought,  the  of most of those places which  been familiar to them during their infancy, (nearly all of them being born between the years 1775 and 1780,) seemed capable of recalling  their memory the sentiments and recollections of their youth.

At Nazareth we lost a man who had been useful to General Bonaparte and his army; namely, M. Venture, first interpreter to the General-in-chief. This old man had passed all his life in the East, and his wandering life had produced a strange mixture of nations in his family; his wife being a Greek, his daughter an Egyptian, and his son-in-law a Pole.\* He very much regretted, but his place was adequately filled up by M. Jaubert, his pupil, who, notwithstanding his numerous and perilous voyages, still lives for his friends and the sciences.

We returned to St. John of Acre, and our arrival before the town the General-in-chief

I present M. Venture's departure from Paris. He travelled in the coach with Colonel Sulkowsky. His wife and daughter bathed in tears, convinced by I know not what omen, that neither of them would come back. After an hour's grief they began to be comforted, when the travellers suddenly re-appeared. Their coach had broken down near the barrier. I expected fresh lamentations; but, to my great astonishment, they expressed the greatest joy at the accident that had occurred; and for the same reason their grief was so much stronger when they learned of their death.

finally learned that Rear-Admiral Duperrie had put on shore ■■■■ three four-and-twenty, and six eighteen pounders, and the necessary ammunition. The works of the mine ■■■■ continued, and ■■■■ the 5th Floreal it ■■■■ decided to spring it. All the batteries began to play upon the enemy, in order to deceive him, and fire ■■■■ to the mine; but ■■■■ vault that existed in the tower presented a line of slight resistance. One side only ■■■■ destroyed: it remained, however, in a state of breach. This breach ■■■■ as difficult to reach ■■■■ it had been before. We ■■■■ therefore obliged to begin battering afresh the curtain and the tower. The attack of the 6th was ■■■■ murderous than the former, and still without success. Four hundred men remained during six hours in the breach that looked towards the ditch; the enemy, posted on the reverse, continued throwing incessantly burning projectiles into the midst of that mass of men, who were unable to advance, and still would not ■■■■ to ■■■■ down. At last the break of day rendered

visible the most disorder, and a position which could not possibly be maintained; we were again obliged to abandon the tower. We had lost an enormous number of officers, especially among the engineers: General Caffarelli, who had the command of the engineers, showed some signs of recovery; but he every day asked why his comrades no longer attended to him. Though the utmost care was taken to conceal from him the fatal nature of their death, grief and anxiety augmented his sufferings. He sometimes said to me, "It was I who seduced,—I who led on all those hopeful young men. Alas! that they should have fallen before such a wretched fortress?" Finally, the death of young Say, the chief of his staff, which could not be kept a secret from him, threw him into a deep melancholy, and he died soon after.

He was not regretted by the army alone. To extensive information, Caffarelli added great feeling and a mildness of disposition, that will make his memory dear to those who

knew him. ■■■ would certainly have ■■■ a very important part under the Empire ; for General Bonaparte had great esteem and ■■■ sideration for him.

The army had already stormed the city twelve times, and withstood twenty-six sorties, when General Kleber and his division ■■■ recalled to the camp. A ■■■ mine had been opened, and we ■■■ already ■■ the point of charging it, when the enemy once ■■■ gave vent to it: notwithstanding all our efforts, he reached the branch; so that we were obliged to make ■■■ miners retire precipitately out of the mine, and stop it up by explosion. This circumstance ■■■ the ■■■ fatal, ■■ by it ■■■ lost ■■ hopes of making ourselves masters of the town by that ■■■ We had ■■ return ■■ cannonading, which also speedily relaxed, the gunpowder ■■■ expected from Gaza not having arrived. On the next day, however, ■■■ received a sufficient quantity: the courage of the soldiers increased; and when they ■■■ the division of Kleber was coming,

the whole camp went to meet it, with congratulations and prophecies that the honour of taking the town would belong to the ~~the~~. The batteries had destroyed a great part of the curtain, which presented a space wide enough to mount for an assault. The grenadiers of Kleber's division received that honourable though perilous commission; but just as they were descending into the ditch in order to cross it, the enemy opened on their flank a tremendous fire from the two sides. The grenadiers, however, penetrated into the town; but when there, they were fired upon from all the sides of a large square, and from the Palace of Djezzar. The difficulty of climbing up the breach prevented our soldiers from rushing easily into the circle: the bravest among them were killed; the rest hesitated. It became necessary to draw the troops back into the trenches.

The General-in-chief could not resolve to order the fourteenth assault; but the grenadiers and most of the officers who had already been in the town, insisted in a pressing manner

for leave to go up once more, that the General-in-chief, after having got the breach widened, let them advance again. General Kleber placed himself on the [redacted] of the fosse, where, sword in hand, he animated his troops with his stentorian voice, amidst the dead and the dying. On looking on that gigantic figure, a whole head taller than the [redacted] of the soldiers, one might have taken him for [redacted] of the heroes of Homer. The noise and smoke of the cannon,—the cries of the soldiers,—the roaring of the Turks,—our troops rushing on the enemy, made our hearts beat with enthusiasm. Nobody doubted but the town would be taken; when suddenly the column stopped. General Bonaparte had placed himself in the breach battery, to examine [redacted] [redacted] the movements of the army. He had fixed his glass between the fascines of the battery, when a ball from the town struck the superior fascine; and the General-in-chief fell into the [redacted] of General Berthier. We thought him killed; but fortunately he had not been touched; his fall was only [redacted] effect of the



commotion of the air. In vain General Berthier pressed him to retire: he received one of those harsh and dry replies, after which no one dared insist. While ■ were examining the singular absence of ■ motion on the part of the troops, ■ bullet entered the head of young Arrighi, who was standing between the General-in-chief and ■. Some others ■ killed afterwards, General Bonaparte still refusing to retire. At last ■ learned what ■ the obstacle that prevented the troops from advancing. In the interval between the two assaults, the enemy had filled up a wide ditch with all sorts of inflammable matter, ■ that repeated and terrible explosions killed all those that came ■ it. It was too broad to be crossed: there were ■ means of turning it; and our soldiers stood before that insurmountable obstacle, enraged ■ not being able to advance, and ■ resolved not to ■ back. Several generals ■ wounded, and ■ great number of officers and soldiers killed. We lost the General of division, Bon, the Adjutant-general Fouler, ■ Croisier, Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief.

To continue the siege would have been paying too dearly for the conquest of a city already ravaged by the plague. The disease had been brought to the camp by the second light demi-brigade that had caught it at Damietta. The army had also found it at Jaffa; and though it was not marked here by those terrible symptoms it had shown at Alexandria, and went under the name of a benign plague, it still swept away many victims, and would undoubtedly have cost us more men still, if we had taken St. John of Acre.

General Bonaparte was convinced that that fever was really the plague; the Physician-in-chief, Desgenettes, alleged, on the contrary, that it was nothing more than a common fever. His opinion and arguments served to tranquillize the soldiers; but they had one effect,—that of disposing them to neglect the caution necessary in contagious diseases. He wished, however, to add practical demonstration to his arguments by inoculating himself with the plague. In the middle of the hospital, and in the presence of all the sick, he

plunged a lancet into the bubo of one of the patients, and pricked himself with it in his side. This act, which was the more courageous, he afterwards acknowledged that the had really all the characteristics of the plague, excited the admiration of the whole army, and insured the physician lasting glory with posterity.

## CHAPTER XXI.

General-in-chief resolves to return to Egypt.—The wounded sent away.—General Bonaparte's violence of temper.—Pretended poisoning of the wounded.—Return to Jaffa.—The infected.—Instance of humanity in the General.—Return to the Capital of Lower Egypt.—Judgment the Syrian Campaign.—Landing of the Turks.—Battle of Aboukir.—Departure for Europe.—Arrival in Corsica.

THE General-in-chief formed the resolution of returning to Egypt. The favourable season for landing approached, and he had received advice that the English, united with the Turks, attempt in Lower Egypt. Measures immediately taken for sending away sick, and provisioning El Arisch and Catisch. All the posts drawn back, in the night of departure the brigade that was on service in the trenches gradually evacuated

## MEMOIRS OF

artillery, and only set themselves the next day, protecting all they had before them, and protected in their turn by the cavalry. The invalids, who were eighteen hundred in number, and who had all been wounded by fire-arms, were placed in the centre of the divisions which they belonged; and there no means of transport, all the mule horses, and even all the asses, which the soldiers had in when they came to Syria, to carry water and provisions, served, on our return, to bear the wounded. But when they arrived Jaffa, the soldiers, seeing before them the terrible Desert, and aware of what they must suffer in crossing it without water, began first to complain, and then broke out into mutiny. It was on this occasion that General Bonaparte gave up all his horses, without keeping any for his private use. The Master of his stables having had the imprudence to supply in favour of the beloved mare of the General, he put himself under such a passion, for the first time in my life I saw him strike a man.

In his rage he went up ■ him, and whipped him ■ the body.

I ■ here say ■ few words on ■ odious imputation made long since against General Bonaparte,—I mean, the pretended poisoning of the soldiers sick of the plague.

It is ■ contrary to truth that General Bonaparte proposed to poison the unfortunate men, that M. Larry, first surgeon to the army, ■ ceased to pronounce it ■ atrocious calumny; and he several times, in the last fifteen years, pressed M. Desgenettes to declare publicly with him the fact through the medium of the press. The latter, having been ill-used by the King's government, recoiled probably ■ the thought of ■ declaration which might make his situation ■ ■ painful. It is, besides, impossible to ■ any person to whom the proposal ■ have been made. Finally, the calumny was spread by the English while they were in Egypt, and propagated by ■ writing of Sir Robert Wilson, who was then extremely young, and who in maturer

has openly declared that he been mistaken.\*

When, in our return from St. John of Acre, we stopped at Jaffa, where the plague had ceased its ravages, I received from the General-in-chief order to go through the numerous gardens that surround the town, and where a sort of Lazaretto had been established for the sick, that we might take along with all that were not too ill to follow the army. I found five six poor soldiers lying beneath the trees: when they me, they cried out, "Pray, Commander, take with you! We are not able to bear the march." I replied, "Try to get up; endeavour to walk." But all symptoms of the plague already evident. Not of them could rise, and I obliged to leave them, for no soldier would have lent them his aid. I went and made my report to General Bonaparte, who walking on the sea-shore. He listened to without stopping, and came up to a young horseman, who

\* the Memoirs of Bourrienne.—(*Note of the Translator.*)

also be taken with us, and who succeeded in rising from the ground. The General, touched with compassion, ordered one of his guides to give his horse to the poor sick man. Neither the authority of the General, nor the fear of punishment, was sufficient to enforce obedience. The Colonel of the Guides was obliged to go up to him, and promise him in a whisper a great deal of money, which motive the only one by which he brought to a decision; and even then the Colonel was forced to use the greatest vigilance lest the sick man should be thrown from his horse. I believe he remained at El Arisch, and I do not know what became of him. As for the poor soldiers I mentioned, it is to be hoped they died in the course of the night, at least the following day, so as to have escaped from the cruel death the Arabs prepared for all those who fell into their hands. I feel remorse for my conduct on that occasion. All I had of the plague at Alexandria had convinced me that it was a fatal humanity that



induces people to come in with the infected, when they are once arrived at the stage of the disease. Nevertheless, I cannot think of those unfortunate without pain, and if it had been possible to save them, I would have done it.

The army carried with it eighteen hundred wounded. We had succeeded in constructing about twenty litters for the general officers, such as Lannes and Veaux, Duroc and Croisier: the two latter were aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief. Croisier died in the Desert. The infected that could not bear a long journey were deposited at El Arisch, but placed without the fort, under the protection of a detachment of infantry that was to defend them against the attacks of the Arabs. Several of them recovered, and in particular I may mention young Captain Digeon, who commanded the breach battery during the whole siege: he was a most intrepid officer, and fortune spared him. He is now lieutenant-general. We lost very few of the wounded while crossing the Desert,

and the army made ~~with~~ great *éclat* its ~~en-~~  
trance into the capital of Egypt.

This Syrian campaign has been judged with great severity by ~~the~~ enemies ; and during the reign of the Emperor it ~~was~~ not allowed to speak impartially of its result. It ~~was~~ ~~not~~ doubtedly indispensable to enter into Syria to repel Ibrabim Bey and the troops which Djezzar Pacha ~~was~~ preparing to launch against Egypt. The operations were conducted with great skill. The failure of St. John of Acre must only be attributed to some ~~unfavourable~~ circumstances independent of the General-in-chief ; but ~~we~~ must not therefore conclude with General Berthier, that the French army really gained all the advantages it expected to reap in Syria. We lost in that province three thousand men, several skilful generals and hopeful officers ; and ~~we~~ ~~were~~ obliged to abandon the towns ~~we~~ had taken. In quitting Syria, ~~we~~ left the country just as it was before we entered it. Barren victories must not be looked upon as real advantages ; and ~~General~~ General Bonaparte ~~did~~ remained in Egypt, he

would undoubtedly have beaten the Grand Vizier when he came the following year to drive ■ out of Egypt, and repulsed the English, who had taken Aboukir. But most ■ tainly he could not have begun the campaign of Syria ■ again, having ■ means of receiving supplies from France; ■ that he would with difficulty have been able to maintain himself ■ years longer in Egypt.

During the campaign of Syria, General Desaix had succeeded in keeping quiet possession of Upper Egypt, and reducing Mourad Bey to the condition of a fugitive. Lower Egypt had been the ■ of many troubles, occasioned by ■ sort of fanatic who styled himself the Angel El Mahadé; but General Lanusse pursued him with ■ much vigour, that he ■ destroyed the troops he had collected.

The landing season was fast approaching. The General-in-chief did not wish to leave Cairo. He therefore resumed the administration of the country: he busied himself with filling up the vacant places in the army ■

completing the corps. He had posted himself with a part of his cavalry near the Pyramids, waiting for the accounts General Desaix would transmit him respecting Mourad Bey, whom that general was pursuing in his last entrenchment, and who it was supposed would throw himself into the Oases that are situated at a short distance from the Pyramids.

It is a well-known fact that the great Pyramid had been opened several centuries ago by the Arabs. General Bonaparte resolved to visit the interior of that structure with Messrs. Monge, Berthollet, and Duroc. I only mention this circumstance because his name has been written in the great gallery leading to the chamber called the King's Chamber. He had scarcely got out of the Pyramid, when an express sent off by General Marmont, who commanded at Alexandria, brought him tidings of the landing of a Turkish army at Aboukir, where they had made themselves masters of the great redoubt and of the fort, after having massacred our soldiers that defended them. The attack was

quite unexpected, the Turkish army was numerous, that General Marmont had not thought to march against them at the head of his garrison, for fear he might not be able to prevent their disembarking, and might more-  
over endanger the city of Alexandria, the fortifications of which were not yet completed, and which besides contained all the munitions he possessed in artillery and ammunition.

It was to be expected that after the enemy had taken the fort he would spread about the country and attack either Alexandria or Rosetta. Instead of that, he fortified himself in the peninsula of Aboukir, evidently waiting for Mourad Bey, with whose desperate condition he was not yet acquainted.

General Bonaparte resolved, therefore, to march rapidly against him. The distance from the Pyramid to Aboukir is more than eighty leagues. On the 4th day the army arrived at Alexandria; on the 7th of Thermidor it was encamped within a league of Aboukir, under the orders of the Generals Lannes and

Lanusse, and Murat for the cavalry. The army was retrenched in front of Aboukir, on the sandy hillocks of which he had made redoubts, and under the protection of the English gun-boats. His force consisted of about seventeen thousand men, with twelve pieces of artillery. The General quickly made his dispositions, and ordered General Dastaneg to attack the enemy's left, which he put to flight after a long resistance. The Turks fled towards the village of Aboukir; but a part of the cavalry, that was in the centre, pursued them, sabred and drove them into the sea. The right of the enemy attacked with equal vigour. The division of Lannes made themselves masters of the redoubt, which being turned by a squadron of cavalry, the Turks had no other resource left but to throw themselves into the sea. It was a horrible sight to contemplate nearly ten thousand men of whom nothing was to be seen but their heads covered with turbans, and who were seeking in vain to reach the English fleet anchored at less than half a league from the

shore. Two thousand men sought a refuge on the strand, at the foot of a rock that covered them. It was impossible to make them apprehend that they might surrender by laying down their arms. We were obliged to kill them all man, but they sold dearly their lives. General Murat was wounded by a bullet in his head; Guibert, Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, was killed, and the corps of engineers, that had already suffered so severely, lost Colonel Cretin, who had succeeded to the post of General Caffarelli. Wounded by two bullets, the Colonel was lying before the door of a house in the village occupied by the Turks. Eight persons had already been killed or wounded in seeking to get him away. Bertrand, who was at that time a major of engineers, devoted himself to his commander: he rushed into the house, followed by twenty sappers, and succeeded in killing every one of the Turks; but he was severely wounded, and Colonel Cretin did not survive the injuries he suffered.

After the victory ■■■ gained, the fort of Aboukir still remained to be taken. General Lannes, who ■■■ not yet recovered from the wounds he had received at St. John of Acre, got the command of the troops that ■■■ to invest the place. I ■■■ with him. The day after the departure of the General-in-chief, I accompanied General Lannes on a visit to the posts, when ■■ furious sortie of Turkish troops surprised ■■■ advanced posts, and the unfortunate General received ■ bullet in his leg. It ■■■ the eighth wound he got from fire-arms.

Fortunately the enemy had ■■ water in the fort of Aboukir, so that he surrendered four days after the battle.

During the short stay of the General-in-chief ■■ Aboukir, he had some communications with Sir Sidney Smith, by the medium of his ■■■ tary. We had not received for a long time any news from Europe, and the English Commodore took ■■ malicious pleasure in acquainting us, by the newspapers, of the situation of the Republic. We learned that the whole ■■■



of Italy ■■■ evacuated, that war ■■■ waging on the frontiers of Piedmont, and that France ■■■ in the most desperate condition. General Bonaparte took great ■■■ not to let the army know these dismal accounts; but, from that moment, he resolved to return to Europe, convinced that he alone ■■■ capable of repairing the evils the bad government of the Directory ■■■ accumulated ■■ the country.

After the surrender of the fort of Aboukir, the defence of which ■■■ only lasted four days, General Bonaparte went back to Cairo; but not before he ■■■ given secret orders to General Gantheaume, who commanded the marine at Alexandria, to ■■■ and provision the two frigates Muiron and Carrère. He then spread the report that he ■■■ going to travel to Upper Egypt, but that he would perhaps first take ■ trip in the Delta. The ■■■ of his intended journey put everybody ■■ the alert, in the expectation of receiving his praises. He spent ■ fortnight in regulating ■■■ more the administration of Egypt, provisioning ■■ strong

places, and writing to the Grand Vizier; and when all his [REDACTED] [REDACTED] duly taken, he went down the Nile again, after having appointed General Kleber to meet him [REDACTED] Alexandria, that he might deliver [REDACTED] the command into his hands; but that general not having [REDACTED] rived in time, his despatches [REDACTED] sent to him; and, [REDACTED] ten o'clock [REDACTED] night, the General-in-chief, accompanied by his staff, and leaving his horses on the shore, embarked on board of the Muiron. He took with him Generals Berthier and Gantchaume, Messrs. Monge and Berthollet, his aides-de-camp, Eugene Beauharnais, Duroc, Merlin, and [REDACTED] private secretary. In the frigate Carrère went Generals Lannes and Murat, both wounded, Marmont, Messrs. Denon, Castas, and Parseval-Grandmaison. The scientific commission [REDACTED] been for some months in Upper Egypt.

Our passage presented many difficulties. The secretary of [REDACTED] Sidney Smith, in a conversation with me, had allowed the observation to escape, that there [REDACTED] a great advantage in blockading

out of sight. We therefore expected that we should find the English Commodore in that way. In that case, the frigate Carrère had received orders to engage, so as to give the Muiron time to escape. But both the frigates were Venetian-built ships, and very bad sailers ; it became therefore necessary to make use of a stratagem to avoid being seen. Admiral Gantheaume thought the best way would be to run, for thirty days, along the flat shores of Africa, where no ships reconnoitre, and to make short tacks of half a league, without ever standing far out to sea. The time appeared very long to us all ; for it would have been imprudent to keep a light at night, so that we were obliged to go to bed with the frigates. Our days were spent in reading, in discussing various topics ; the inexhaustible information of our two learned travelling companions filled up our time in a very agreeable manner. Plutarch frequently assisted us in his assistance ; and sometimes, during our long evenings, the General-in-chief would tell us ghost stories, in

which he was very clever. The situation of France, and the future of the country, were often the subjects of his reflections. He mentioned the government of the Directory but with a degree of severity that savoured of contempt. In the mean while his conversation betrayed what he intended to do; though his words that escaped him, his musings, and his indirect insinuations, gave a wide scope to our surmises. His administration in Egypt had been pure, his operations full of genius; but was that enough to clear him in the eyes of a government that feared him, and was far from wishing well to him? He would be obliged to make war; but could he submit to the plans of a government deprived of military knowledge, that might place him in an awkward situation, and give his rivals means of success, which they would refuse to allow him? These different ideas made him very thoughtful.

At last the wind began to blow in a fresh gale. We passed Cape Bone during

the night, and arrived speedily at Ajaccio. This little town is the birthplace of the General-in-chief: he had left it eight years before, when he was only a captain of artillery. At the sight of this place his heart was deeply affected. Coming from Egypt, where the plague prevailed, it was impossible for him to enter the port. The inhabitants, surprised to see the Admiral's flag hoisted on the main-mast, rushed towards the shore; but when they learned that their illustrious countryman was on board, his old friends and relations threw themselves into a number of boats, and boarded the frigate, and broke through the quarantine. There was however great danger, for after forty-four days' navigation he had not a sick person on board. Among the crowd that was bustling round the cabin there was an old woman dressed in black, who continually held up her hands to the General, saying, "*Caro figlio!*" without being able to attract his notice. At last he perceived her, and cried out

— *Madre !*—It was his nurse, who is still living at the moment I write this.

The General-in-chief learned here, though in a confused manner, what had happened in France during his absence. Italy was lost, and Massena continued fighting like a lion in Switzerland. In the interior the confusion had been very great. Treilhard and Merlin were no longer members of the Directory ; their places were occupied by the lawyer Gohier and General Moulin. On hearing the latter name, the General-in-chief turned to Berthier and said, " Who is this General Moulin ? " — " I never heard his name mentioned before," answered Berthier. General Bonaparte put the same question to all of us, and received the same answer. That man's nomination caused him to reflect deeply. Astonished not to hear any of the authorities from the land, he soon learned that the members of the municipality, and those of the departmental directory, had sent each other to prison. The commissary of the Go-

vernment, a stranger to the country, sole  
in that of confusion. The cabinet  
revolution had become known at Ajaccio,  
the different parties found it the most  
natural thing in the world to persecute  
another.

## CHAPTER XXII.

General Bonaparte re-establishes order in Ajaccio.—He lands in Fréjus.—Enthusiasm of the population.—His arrival in Lyons and Paris.—State of public affairs.—The Directory give General Bonaparte a dinner in the Church of St. Sulpice.—Conspiracy to overthrow the Directory.—The General presents himself before the Council of the Elders.—Both the Councils are transferred to St. Cloud.—The Council of Five Hundred assemble in the Conservatory.—General Bonaparte and Sieyès.—Resolutions of the former.—General tumult.—Bonaparte gives an order to drive the members out of the House.—The Constitution of the Third Year is abolished.—Three Consuls: Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun.

It was necessary to re-establish some order in the midst of so much anarchy. In consequence, the General-in-chief went to his own house, sent for the magistrates, whom he delivered out of prison, exhorted them to peace



and concord, and the next morning the two frigates left the port, sailing in the direction of the Isles of Hyères. The whole of the first day our navigation [ ] very favourable. We perceived already the [ ] of Provence, and [ ] joy [ ] returning to our dear country [ ] carried to its highest pitch, when the sailor who was [ ] the look-out [ ] that he espied two large ships in the west. They could be no other than enemy's ships, and soon several discharges of [ ] seemed to indicate that they had discovered us. The General-in-chief called [ ] council, and the universal opinion,—even that of the Admiral,—was, that General Bonaparte had nothing else to do than to throw himself into the post-boat that accompanied us and return to Ajaccio. [ ] was indignant [ ] such advice. “Do you think,” said he, “that I [ ] consent to [ ] away like [ ] coward, when fortune has [ ] ceased to favour me? Let [ ] continue our course. My destiny is [ ] to [ ] taken and [ ] here.” [ ] went on; but instead of steering, [ ] we had done till then, [ ]

the direction of the **Bay** of Hyères, **we** resolved **to** go **to** Fréjus. The General-in-chief had judged rightly. The enemy, whom **we** distinguished with facility, because they were under the setting sun, could not perceive us, because we **were** in the shade. After standing on the whole night, the two frigates reached the roads of Fréjus. The Sanitary establishment **was** situated at about a quarter of a league from the town. An officer of the frigate went towards the shore in a boat. We distinguished him perfectly well. Some men **came** to meet him; but after a few minutes **we** perceived a great confusion: **many** people ran towards the town, and soon after the strand **was** covered with an immense multitude of persons. The boats **were** filled, and as at Ajaccio, a number of **men** rushed on board of the ship through the port-holes. The cries of "Long live Bonaparte!" resounded **all** over the country. A white horse was brought for him, **and** **he** went **to** the house of a brother of the Abbé Sieyès, who **lived** **at** Fréjus. The **frigate**

timents that animated the whole population expressed in a manner that not leave the shadow of a doubt. "You alone France," the universal cry. "She'll perish but for you: it is Heaven that sent you; seize the reins of government!" His journey to Lyons was a triumphal march. We arrived in that city at six o'clock in the morning. His having landed already known, and his arrival wished for with an ardour impossible to describe. Lyons was still famous for its antipathy to the Republican government, and we imagined that the General would not stop; but to our great astonishment he declared that he intended to spend the remainder of the day there. He received all the authorities and most distinguished citizens; without explaining himself, however, on the direct insinuations that were made to him for him to place himself at the head of the government, but receiving with a cold courtesy the republicans that had organized a constitutional club, and who came to congratulate

him. He had been invited to go to the theatre of the Celestins, where a piece and a song had been prepared for the occasion. He chose one of the boxes level with the pit; and Duroc having, by his order, placed himself in front of the box, the call for Bonaparte grew so violent and unanimous, that the General-in-chief was obliged to change places with him during the whole representation.

Towards midnight he set off, and passed through the Bourbonnais, wishing to avoid Mâcon, where the republican club had exasperated the aristocratic classes. From the very first day of his arrival at Paris, the General-in-chief applied himself to avoid the eyes of the multitude, who were so desirous of seeing him, and expressing their enthusiasm. His interview with the Directory was cold and uncereemonious. The members that composed it at that time were Barras, General Moulin, and Gohier, who shared the same sentiments; Sieyes and Roger Ducos in the opposition. It was at that time that the two latter, despairing of being

able to maintain the Republican system, and wishing to prevent at any rate the re-establishment of the Bourbons in France, they turned their eyes on a prince of the House of Spain, whose power would have been circumscribed in such limits, that Liberty and the principles of the Revolution would have been in safety. Whatever may be the truth of that anecdote, it is however certain that these two Directors, when they explained to General Bonaparte the disposition of the people's minds, and the impossibility of continuing any longer under the directorial form of Government, entreated him to put himself at the head of an insurrection that might overthrow it. A feeling of affection that the General preserved for Barras persuaded him to make some indirect overtures to that Director to draw him into his party. Barras refused, either because he had entered into secret engagements with the House of Bourbon, rather by a want of enlightened views, and by the republican sentiments he could not give up.

It became therefore necessary to do without him, and, moreover, to take a speedy resolution. France ■■■■ oppressed by the expenses of the war, and disgusted with ■ violent government, which, perceiving that its enemies ■■■■ augmented from day to day, and wishing to place in ■■■■ predicament the disaffected, that its administration created, with its inveterate enemies of the aristocratic classes and the families of the emigrants, loaded ■ indiscriminately with the ■■■■ rigour. The fear of the influence of the emigrants, and of a return to ■ monarchical system, made the directors lean towards those rigorous measures that had caused ■■■■ of the Committee of Public Welfare, and ■■■■ of their acts bore the marks of these measures. Their partisans, that were no longer to be found any where else than among ■ part of ■■■■ public officers, ■■■■ perpetually exciting ■■■■ anxiety on ■■■■ spirit of the army; ■■■■ General Bonaparte, in particular, inspired them with alarms that could not fail soon ■ produce ■ violent attack against him. These partisans

of the Directory formed, nevertheless, everywhere a minority, especially in the two councils; but their activity and their audacious spirit compensated for the smallness of their numbers. The General-in-chief arrived on the 1st of Vendemiaire; the conspiracy that was to overturn the Directory was arranged and decided in the first days of Brumaire, and several members of the two Councils had been entrusted with the secret. Government wishing, however, to show General Bonaparte a public testimony of satisfaction, resolved to give him a splendid dinner. It was decided that the board should be spread in the nave of the church of St. Sulpice. Arrangements were made to bring together the two Councils and the high officers of the State. The General-in-chief went there with a few generals and with several aides. An immense table in the form of a horse-shoe filled the whole church. The General-in-chief sat next to the President of the Directory. He trusted so little in the good faith of the Government, that he ordered a loaf

of bread and half a bottle of wine to be brought there for his private use. I had not been previously informed of that circumstance, and I only learned it when Duroc asked me in the church for those two articles of provision which were fetched from the General's coach. I never witnessed a more silent assembly, nor one where the guests showed less confidence or cheerfulness. Scarcely any one addressed his neighbour, and those who were in the secret of the plot, preferred not to speak rather than to risk dangerous conversation with neighbours who might differ in opinion with them. The toasts that were given were received without enthusiasm, even the one meant for General Bonaparte, so deeply were the minds of every one prepossessed with their own private thoughts. After having sat for about half an hour, the General got up, walked slowly round the tables, addressed a few words to the guests, escaped by a side door, and returned back in his lodgings before any one observed his absence.



The most celebrated general officers of the army ~~at~~ ~~the~~ time nearly all ~~in~~ Paris. Moreau, Macdonald, Bournonville, generals-in-chief, ~~had~~ entered into the plot. Augereau, member of the Council of Five Hundred, ~~had~~ not been made acquainted with it, nor Bernadotte. The opinions of the latter were rather violent; and a feeling of jealousy, the ~~cause~~ of which ~~was~~ not extremely honourable to them, had rendered them both enemies of General Bonaparte. His having formerly commanded in Paris, insured him the friendship of all the officers of the staff; whilst the colonels of the regiments that held garrison in the metropolis were all equally devoted to his person.

Notwithstanding the precautions ~~that~~ had been taken to keep the whole ~~affair~~ a secret, it ~~had~~ however spread among the higher classes, ~~and~~ almost ~~all~~ the military residing in Paris. ~~The~~ three members of the Directory learned it also; and then for the first time the force of public opinion made ~~them~~ ~~stand~~ back before the measures they might ~~as~~ easily have ~~taken~~ ~~to~~

annihilate the conspiracy. It would undoubtedly have been sufficient to have apprehended the General during the night ; but then what would they have done with him ? How would they have made out any charge against him ? Where would they have found judges ? The General-in-chief ■■■ ■■ sensible of his real situation, that he took ■■ precaution whatever for his personal security. He ■■■ surrounded by nobody but his aides-de-camp ; he seldom went out, and worked principally with Roedeur, in whom he had placed ■■ chief confidence.

On the 16th of Brumaire there ■■■ so little appearance of the plot bursting the following day, that Eugene and I passed the evening ■■ a ball, where he remained ■ part of the night, and I left ■■ midnight because that was the hour when my duty began. The next morning at six o'clock the sixty officers ■■ duty in the quarter ■■■ assembled in the court-yard of the General's house in the Rue de la Victoire. The General explained to them in a forcible ■■■ ■■ desperate situation of the Repub-

lic, and asked of them a testimony of devotion to his person, with an oath of allegiance to the two Chambers. He then mounted his horse and flew to the Carrousel, where he found Sebastiani at the head of his regiment, the fifth dragoons. On entering the Tuileries, he also found the guards of the Directory, whom their colonel had brought to remain at the disposal of the Council of the Elders. The Minister of the War Department had, nevertheless, two days beforehand strictly prohibited the chiefs of the different corps from making the slightest movement without his orders, under pain of death. But besides the little esteem and confidence which that minister (Dubois de Crancé) inspired, the troops delighted on finding themselves placed under the command of General Bonaparte. Their enthusiasm was so great, that they would not have hesitated a moment to fire on the Directory if they had received an order to that effect.

General Bonaparte presented himself at the bar of the Elders, where M. le Mercier was in

the chair. ■ there received the decree by which he ■ appointed General-in-chief of the troops of the first division, and ■ order to march next day to St. Cloud, where the two Councils were to hold their sitting. In fact, the following day the majority of the two Councils assembled in the Palace of St. Cloud. The General had required M. Gohier, President of the Directory, to tender his resignation; but he refused; and, as ■ lawyer, the reason he gave was, that the order was contrary to the Constitution. ■ wife remained with Madame Bonaparte, and they were obliged to work upon her alarm to obtain her husband's submission.

The Council of Elders, not being very numerous, had been easily accommodated in one of the large apartments; but, the Council of Five Hundred, which was to sit in the Conservatory, ■ not yet been able to ■ ble, because the preparations were not ■ pleted. In consequence, the sitting ■ not open till three o'clock. Lucien Bonaparte ■ in ■ chair. Great excitement prevailed; the

friends of the Directory seemed to be more numerous than the day before. They all showed themselves indignant at a [redacted] which, bearing all the characteristics of a *coup d'état*, presented besides what they called *liberticide violence*, and an odious violation of the Constitution. Scarcely had the debates begun, when [redacted] of the members proposed that each individually should mount the tribune, and [redacted] allegiance to the Constitution of the Year III. The General had given me orders to remain in the hall, and bring him every five minutes a report of what was going forward. The [redacted] remony of the oath [redacted] undoubtedly meant to gain time and prolong the sitting until night should [redacted] in. In the space of five minutes, no more than three oaths [redacted] taken, so that it [redacted] evident [redacted] than five hours would elapse before the ceremony [redacted] terminated. I acquainted General Bonaparte with the circumstance, and found him walking with much agitation in [redacted] apartment [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] other furniture than [redacted] arm-chairs. Sieyes

alone with him, sitting next to the chimney, before a burning fagot which he was poking with a stick, for there was not even a pair of tongs. After having listened to what I said, General Bonaparte turned abruptly to Sieyes and observed: "Now, you say what they are doing."—"Oh! oh!" answered the other coolly: "to swear to a part of the Constitution may be right; but to the whole Constitution,—that is too much!"

I retired to the adjoining apartment, where I found about thirty officers of the Staff, and General Berthier in the midst of them. All their faces were lengthened; and they looked gloomy. When I told General Berthier what was going forward at the Five Hundred, he grew pale and heaved a sigh. But all of a sudden the folding-door opened, and General Bonaparte appeared, beating the floor with his whip and exclaiming: "This must have an end!" They rushed out, and we found ourselves in the middle of the yard, where a regiment of infantry, just arrived

from Paris, were ranged in line of battle. He assembled the officers, harangued them for a few minutes; and then, turning his horse's head, he galloped back to the foot of the great staircase, which he rapidly ascended, and presented himself at the bar of the Council of Elders. The speech he made there was faithfully reported in the papers of the time; but his agitation of mind was carried to such a pitch, that he hesitated, and his words were uttered with the utmost disorder. When he arrived at that part of his speech where he mentioned that a great plot had been formed against Liberty, some of the members of the Council said coolly to him: "General, you must reveal that plot." Instead of answering him, the General continued still in a little confusion; but at last recovering his presence of mind, he went on with a firmer voice, and finished his speech. One part of the Council shared his emotion; the other, on the contrary, enjoyed his confusion; and the Council was to deliberate on what he had said, he withdrew. But, instead of returning to the

place he had [redacted] from, he went [redacted] the Council of Five Hundred. In the vestibule [redacted] found the grenadiers, who took up arms. The noise they made alarmed the Assembly; and when Bonaparte presented himself, a great number of members rushed forward to meet him with angry cries, among which [redacted] might have distinguished the word *dictator*. He [redacted] so pressed between the deputies, his staff, and the grenadiers, who had rushed to the door of the apartment, that I thought for a moment he would be smothered. He could neither advance [redacted] go back. At last those who had accompanied him felt that it was necessary to open a passage for him, and they succeeded, though not without violent efforts. He then went down again to the court-yard, mounted his horse, and remaining at the foot of the staircase, he sent an order for the President to come to him, which the latter [redacted] as [redacted] [redacted] he could escape. In [redacted] mean while the confusion in the Assembly was carried to the highest pitch: several members rushing towards the windows which



opened into the court-yard, pointed to him and cried out: "Down with the Dictator!—let him be outlawed!" At that moment, M. de Talleyrand, Arnaud the poet, and many other persons with whom I was talking, suddenly turned as pale as death: they all fled except those I have named. The terrible word of outlaw (*hors la loi*) still possessed all its magic force; and if a general of some reputation had put himself at the head of the troops of the interior, it would be difficult to guess what might have happened. But the General took a resolution, and gave Murat orders to clear the hall. Murat placed Colonel Dujardin at the head of a detachment of grenadiers, who crossed the hall at a quick pace. When the Colonel was at the end of the hall, he turned round towards the members who sat on the benches; but these getting out by the windows, disappeared, and laid down their costume, which consisted of a sort of Roman toga with a square cap.

When General Bonaparte entered the hall

■ Council of Five Hundred, ■ of the grenadiers who had followed him received ■ thrust from ■ dagger, which penetrated his coat, ■ which in all probability had been ■ for the General. The grenadier ■ rewarded, and I think died a captain. The deputy marked out ■ the assassin ■ ■ Corsican, called Arena : he perished a short time after, being implicated in the conspiracy of which Coracchi and Topineau Lebrun ■ at the head, and the object of which was ■ assassinate the First Consul at the Opera, in the midst of the confusion they intended to create by letting off squibs. Having ■ France a few days after, the 18th Brumaire, I could obtain ■ particulars of the affair.

Immediately after the expulsion of the deputies, the members of the two Councils who had been appointed to consult ■ the ■ ■ ■ be taken, met; ■ on the 19th the city of Paris, and soon after all the ■ of France, learned that General Bonaparte ■ created First Consul, and that Messrs.

Cambacérès and Lebrun were to be and Third Consuls with him.\* The former was a magistrate in the Parliament of Aix. He was celebrated for his thorough information and his conciliating temper. He had been in the Convention, and his mitigated vote in the King's trial gave the true measure of the weakness of his disposition. The Third Consul, M. Lebrun, was said to have written the beautiful ordinances of Chancellor Maupeou, whose Secretary he had been. He was a very well-informed man, and published two remarkable translations, one of the Iliad, and the other of Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered. He had the reputation of being a great financier. The discernment of the First Consul in appointing him was universally applauded.

The Minister of Police at that period was M. Fouché, subsequently Duke of Otranto. On

\* Count Lavallette's memory has again betrayed me in this instance :—the first three Consuls were Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos. Cambacérès and Lebrun succeeded to the office afterwards. — (*Note of the Translator.*)

the 17th Brumaire he [redacted] pledged his word to General Bonaparte to serve him unreservedly ; but on the 18th, [redacted] I was walking up and down the apartments of St. Cloud, I met [redacted] of my old schoolfellows, named Thurot, whom I [redacted] not seen since I left college. He told me that he [redacted] Secretary-general of the Police ; and as I questioned him rather in a pressing manner, he confessed that his master had sent him to St. Cloud to witness the event, and that [redacted] must succeed at any cost, as he [redacted] well enough acquainted with his patron to know that he would make us pay [redacted] failure dearly. In truth, [redacted] learned since, that the Minister had taken measures to have us apprehended, and perhaps shot, if the undertaking [redacted] St. Cloud had not completely succeeded. The Emperor learned that circumstance ; and knowing his [redacted] strength, he used sometimes to joke with his Minister about it.

Although I [redacted] not kept up my connexions [redacted] family of Metternich, the First Consul, hoping to press the Austrians so closely, [redacted]

peace would be the consequence of the [redacted] campaign, sent [redacted] to Saxony [redacted] secret powers [redacted] sign [redacted] armistice, in case the events of the war should incline the Austrians that way.

## APPENDIX.

### No. I.

Toulon, ■■ Floreal, Year VI.

THE General of Division, chief of the General ■■■ of the Army, orders Citizen Lavallette, Captain, Aide-de-camp ■■ the General-in-chief, to ■■■ board the frigate Artemisa, and to sail with the expedition.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

### No. II.

■■ CITIZEN LAVALLETTE, ■■■■■■■■■■

Head-quarters at Malta, ■■ Prairial, Year VI.

THE Artemisa, Citizen, ■■■ orders ■■ anchor off the ■■■ of Albania, ■■ give you the means of conferring with Ali Pacha.

You are to deliver him the enclosed letter, the contents of which only mention that he is to believe all you say of him, and to choose an interpreter whom he can trust, so that you may hold a private conversation with him. You are to give the said letter into his own hands, and you will take care that he reads it himself.

Afterwards you are to tell him that having conquered Malta, and being now present in those seas with thirty ships and fifty thousand men, I shall of course enter into communication with him, and that I wish to know whether I may rely upon him.

That I wish he would send to me by the frigate a man of note in whom he places confidence. That considering the service he has rendered to the Republic, his personal qualities, courage, and gallantry, if he trust him, and consents to second me, I am able to increase considerably his glory and his fortune.

You are to make general inquiries respecting the political and military situation of the different provinces of those regions.

You are to write down whatever Ali Pacha says to you, and re-embark in the frigate to return and make me a report on the result of your mission.

When you pass by Sicily you will see General Cha-

## APPENDIX.

bot, and [redacted] him [redacted] send [redacted] wood, and issue a proclamation to the inhabitants of Corcyra and other islands, directing them [redacted] [redacted] the squadron, wine, dried raisins, and other objects, for which they [redacted] be liberally paid.

BONAPARTE.

### No. III.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO [redacted] LAVALLETTE.

Head-quarters, Cairo, [redacted] Primaire, Year VII.

You must [redacted] off on board the djerme La Venitienne, with Citizen Beauchamp, to go to Alexandria. You [redacted] inspect the situation of the fortifications, magazines, and of every ship of [redacted] squadron.

You must deliver the sabre you receive herewith [redacted] Rear-Admiral Percé.

You [redacted] inspect the fort of Rosetta.

You must endeavour to get from Alexandria [redacted] Rosetta my travelling carriage and the carriage I brought from Malta. At Rosetta you will embark them [redacted] a djerme for Boulac.

You are not [redacted] [redacted] until you have seen Citizen Beauchamp under weigh.

BONAPARTE.



## No. IV.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO [REDACTED] LAVALLETTE.

Head-quarters, Cairo, 11 Nivose, Year VII.

I HAVE received your letters of 11 and 1 Nivose: stay  
at Alexandria until the caravella be gone, and then off  
immediately after. GENERAL BONAPARTE.

## No. V.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO [REDACTED] LAVALLETTE.

Head-quarters, Cairo, 18 Vendemiaire, Year VII.

You are off this day, Citizen, on board the little  
Cisalpine; taking with you the cargo La Coreyre, and  
the [REDACTED] the Rhone.

You are to conduct the convoy bound to Salahieh to  
Mit-Kamas, where it will be placed under the orders of  
General Murat, who is [REDACTED] it farther up.

You are to continue your passage with the armed  
vessels, and go to Mansoura; there you are General  
Dugua, and inquire what [REDACTED] he [REDACTED] have received  
[REDACTED] from Damietta or from [REDACTED]. You will go  
to Damietta, take on board of [REDACTED] three vessels all the  
troops they are able to carry, [REDACTED] go with them to re-  
join Andreossi [REDACTED] newly man [REDACTED] flotilla. You

## APPENDIX.

follow that General on his reconnoitring trip to Peluse.

You will write me from Mansoura and from Damietta; and if there any newly arrived vessels the roads of Damietta, will question them and send report.

BONAPARTE.

### No. VI.

REPORT TO THE GENERAL-IN-CHIEF ON  
TO PELUSE.

Cairo, Brumaire.

I Boulac the evening of the 18th Vendemiaire, on board of the canga La Coreyre, bound for Damietta, with the Cisalpine, and the canoes the Rhone and Seine.

I General Vial before Mit-et-Koli, the that village had been plundered for having murdered some Frenchmen. with him two hundred and fifty of the 13th and 25th half brigade. No inhabitants found in that village. The same circumstance took place in regard two others which been equally guilty. In returning to Damietta the 23rd, the General stopped Farescout, surrounded the village, required of the that they should deliver up him the of their inhabitants. II obtained only eigh-

muskets, and took sheiks as hostages, who were sent off to Cairo. Fare scout the village inha-  
 bited of which the devoted Hassan Toubar.  
 It was there the insurrection of the Fructidor

I left Damietta on the 24th, and passed the night at the Bogas, the wind not having allowed me to go any farther. That contains a garrison of twenty or thirty. The wall that has been raised round it shelters it against a surprise. But the that defend it are ill-placed, and the platforms in support them long.

On the 25th I went to Dibbé by land. The road from Bogas to the mouth of the lake is eight leagues in length, and the soil a firm sand: the heaviest artillery may pass it without danger.

consists of about thirty fishermen's huts. Several inhabitants meet us, and brought provisions.

Having advantage of a fair wind, I arrived in twelve hours. is a considerable place, containing about thousand inhabitants. However, more than one-fifth of them were there when I passed. Hassan Toubar the owner of two houses there: he had every thing. We nothing

them but ■■■■ cattle and wretched furniture. Though the inhabitants trade ■■■ lake, the boats are obliged ■ anchor ■ ■■ a league distance, the lake ■■ being deep enough for them ■ approach ■■■■ ■■ Mensalé, which besides is not built on the shore. The anchoring place ■ unprotected, but possesses ■■■■ water, which ■ brought ■ ■ ■■■■ distance from it by the emptying of the canals of the Nile in the ■■■■ of the inundation.

On ■■ 27th, ■ six o'clock in the morning, I ■■ Mensalé to join General Andreossi, ■ whom I brought water and provisions. I found him on the ■■■ ■ the mouth of Aroum Farregge.

He had with him ■■■■ barks; his troops consisted of ■ battalion of the 25th, and ■ detachment of the 2nd light infantry.

On the 29th, ■ four o'clock in the morning, I ■■ off for Peluse with the General and ■ detachment ■ thirty ■■■■

The distance from the mouth of Aroum Farregge ■ El Farameh ■ three leagues. This ruined ■■■■ presented nothing remarkable. At three-quarters of ■ league from ■■■ ■■■■ an ■■■■ quantity ■ dust and bricks, which are supposed ■ have ■■■■ the fortress of Peluse. There is yet a wall standing, and some arches that have been examined. The ruins of the

town extend ■ about three thousand paces. In ■ that space ■ ■ ■ nothing but a few pillars ■ granite of large size, ■ ■ ■ of a ■ ■ ■ partly in ruins.

On our return we observed, at eighteen hundred toises from Peluse, ■ edifice which is thought ■ be ■ ruined mosque. Nothing, however, remains but the brick walls and ■ part of the arched roof. We ■ there several cannons unfit for use, and granite balls.

On the ■ ■ ■ Aroum Farregge, and I separated from General Andreossi ■ ■ ■ Tanis.

I found on my arrival ■ Damietta the train of artillery designed for Salahieh. They were embarking ■ on the lake, and ■ ■ ■ to go ■ the following day for Sann.

General Dugua ■ ■ ■ arrived the preceding day ■ Damietta. ■ ■ ■ told me that the government of that province ■ ■ ■ yet organized, but that he ■ ■ ■ going to look after it.

General ■ ■ ■ complained of the difficulties ■ ■ ■ with in the discharge of ■ ■ ■ duty. The Secretary they have given him is a young man, who understands nothing about the business; and the ■ ■ ■ of his health will not allow him ■ do all himself. ■ ■ ■ unable to give me ■ very ■ ■ ■ account of the property of ■ ■ ■ 'Toubar. As soon ■ he ■ ■ ■ have made the necessary inquiries on the subject, ■ ■ ■ will acquaint you with ■ ■ ■ result.

██████ Vial complains █████ he has ███ troops enough  
 to guard Mansoura. If █████ not ███ thousand █████  
 men under his command, and twenty █████ peasants  
 assemble every week in the market-place of that town.

I accompanied General Murat on █████ expedition █████  
 \* \* \*, the inhabitants of which had the day before █████  
 sacred █████ dragoons of the 14th, and stolen their horses.  
 The village █████ surrounded at ten o'clock █████ night ; and  
 next morning the General █████ into █████ two companies of  
 grenadiers, who slaughtered more than █████ hundred  
 peasants. In their houses were found █████ sheaths of  
 dragoons' sabres, and some helmets.

LAVALLETTE.

### No. VII.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO █████ LAVALLETTE.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 21 Nivose, Year VII.

You will please, Citizen, █████ return back █████ Cairo as  
 soon as possible. I have received your Report.

BONAPARTE.

### No. VIII.

████████ GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO █████ LAVA █████

Head-quarters at Cairo, 9 Pluviose, █████ VII.

You █████ please, Citizen, to come to Cairo █████ soon █████  
 possible. I █████ you for the new campaign that is  
 about █████ █████

BONAPARTE.

## No. IX.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO CITIZEN LAVALLETTE.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 20 Pluviose, Year VII.

You must set off, Citizen, as soon as possible, to join me. You need not wait for the departure of the caravella. At your arrival at Cairo, you must remain three days there, to gain a perfect knowledge of the situation of affairs; and you must not depart until a favourable opportunity offers.

BONAPARTE.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.







